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Child-Life, Adolescence and Marriage in Greek New Comedy and in the Comedies of Plautus

A STUDY OF THE RELATIONS REPRESENTED AS EXISTING BETWEEN PARENTS AND THEIR CHILDREN

By

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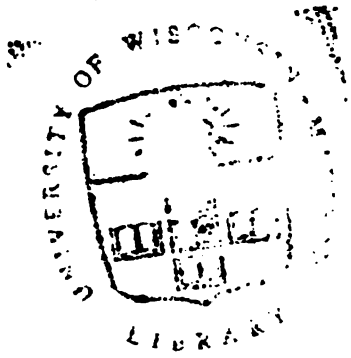

PARENTIBUS PIENTISSIMIS

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INTRODUCTORY

The picture of family life presented by the writers of Greek New Comedy and by Plautus is a comprehensive one though it is not a complete and perfectly balanced one. It was to obtain this comprehensive picture that the present study was entered upon.

The comic theatre took cognizance of the home and peered inquisitively into its life. With true art, however, its lynx-like eye knew where to soften its gaze. Its fine sense of fitness kept Greek New Comedy from seriously offending. At times it exhibits touches of tenderness. It is a gentle life that is represented.

One cannot but admire the high ideal governing the relations of parent and child as found in the Greek New Comedy. This ideal is not framed in words which make it exclusively a father-and-son relationship but rather one of child and parents. It is more elevated in tone than that in the plays of Plautus. Education is represented as practical and as also cultural. Greek New Comedy furnishes a score of plays the titles of which were drawn from the various relationships of family life. The plays of Plautus exhibit the same type of titles. The title of a play, however, is not always an index to the nature of the content of the play.[1] One is not disappointed in the amount of material dealing with family affection, for it is large. Family life is, as a whole, kindly and healthful. Adolescence and young manhood chiefly engaged attention. This was but natural in plays the plots of which were usually founded upon love adventures. Moreover, it was the moral aspects of adolescence that were by far the most interesting. This was not because the comedies taught morals,[2] for they did not, yet the mass of material dealing with morals is greater than that dealing with any other theme connected with home life. The marriages represented are born of love. Dowries brought by rich wives are frequently referred to and give endless opportunity for witty reflections, both as to their advantages and disadvantages, and, judging from the many subtle arguments set forth, it was felt that there were many of both. Great restraint is

[1] Legr., pp. 27-29. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 441.

shown. Although many references are made to the less happy and less noble phases of home life, there is no extended representation of a divorce proceeding, an unfaithful wife, the exposure or stealing of a child, a cruel step-mother, an unkind mother-in-law, or a boldly disobedient son. Scarcely more than one slave who is a real criminal appears.[3]

The recently discovered fragments and plays give much light on many phases of family life about which the fragments of the Greek New Comedy edited by Kock (1880–1888) offer little or nothing. The total effect of the discovery of the new material is to make Greek New Comedy less predominantly philosophical and gnomic and to make a greater resemblance between its content and that of the plays of Plautus, not only in general feeling but also in detail.

The domestic picture presented to us, according to Legrand, *Daos*, Paris, 1910 (translated by James Loeb, 1917), is true to life, due allowance being made for comedy. He says: "The essential point is that, as far as we know, no writer of New Comedy can any where be caught in a flagrant disregard of facts, and that we can nowhere prove that, in order to meet the exigencies of his plot, he invented a literary jurisprudence or a fanciful method of dealing with things. Nor does the *νέα* appear to have portrayed the family differently from what the laws and the custom of the time made it."[4] This truthfulness applies also to historical allusions in the *νέα*.[5]

The picture of home life, moreover, in both the Greek and the Latin plays is, in the view of Legrand, one picture, the extant portion from the one literature being parallel to, or complementary to, that from the other. The search, however, for Roman elements in Plautus continues. Friedrich Leo discusses the subject in *Plautinische Forschungen*, second edition, Berlin, 1912, chapter III (Plautus und seine Originale). Professor H. W. Prescott makes large room for Greek ideas and form in passages where others see in a rougher workmanship evidence of a Roman hand (*See* Bibliography). A strong dissent to the minimizing of the poetic powers of Plautus and of his place in the world of literature is found in K. M. Westaway's brief but compact volume, *The Original Element in Plautus*, Cambridge, 1917. It is not a part of this study to indicate, except occa-

[3] Legr., p. 110; pp. 122-123; pp. 135-139; pp. 199-200; p. 217.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

[5] *Ibid.*, 206-224.

sionally, what in Plautus is Roman and what is Greek. Indexes along lines approximately parallel are provided to facilitate a comparative study, if this is desired, of the material in the Greek New Comedy and in the plays of Plautus bearing on the relations between parent and child. As has already been stated, this study is confined to the drawing, in as complete a manner as possible, of the picture of family life as represented in Greek New Comedy and in Plautus.

Among the books that have been of great assistance to me where the question of the historicity of certain references to family life in the plays arose are several dissertations, especially E. M. Rankin's *The Rôle of the Greek* Μάγειροι, Chicago, 1907; Cornelia G. Harcum's *Roman Cooks*, Baltimore, 1914; Charles A. Savage's *The Athenian Family*, Baltimore, 1907; Samuel Glenn Harrod's *Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship*, Princeton, 1909. The one work most helpful to me in this study was Ph. E. Legrand's *New Greek Comedy*, translated by James Loeb, 1917. Part I, chapter III, section 5, gives a very readable account of family life as represented in New Comedy, while the footnotes are replete with citations. Of the great works of reference I have found Daremberg and Saglio's Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines, Paris, 1873–1912, of highest value, and particularly the articles on *Divortium*, *Dos*, *Expositio*, *Matrimonium*, *Nomen*, and *Sponsalia*.

I hope that there may be opportunity to make a study of Terence along the lines here followed for the *νέα* and for Plautus.

I am under great obligation to Professor M. S. Slaughter and to Professor Grant Showerman for many helpful suggestions.

ABBREVIATIONS

The passages cited from Latin literature are to be found in W. M. Lindsay, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae*, 1903, unless otherwise indicated, while those cited from Greek literature are to be found in Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, 1880–1888, unless otherwise indicated.

C.	Capps, *Four Plays of Menander*, 1910.
D.	Demianczuk, *Supplementum Comicum*, 1912.
D.-S.	Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, 1873–1912.
G.-H.	Grenfell and Hunt, Γεωργός, 1898.
H.	Harcum, *Roman Cooks*, 1914.
Harr.	Harrod, *Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship*, 1909.
K.	Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, 1880–1888.
Kör.	Körte, *Menandrea*, editio maior, 1912.
Legr.	Legrand, *New Greek Comedy*, translated by Loeb, 1917.
L.	Lindsay, W. M., *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae*, 1903.
M.-S.	Meier und Schömann, *Der Attische Process*, 1887.
Sandys	Sandys, *A Companion to Latin Studies*, 1913.
S.	Savage, *The Athenian Family*, 1907.
Whibl.	Whibley, *A Companion to Greek Studies*, 1915.

PART I

GREEK NEW COMEDY

CHAPTER I

Ancestry

In Greek New Comedy, where love adventures underlie the plot, it is natural to find but little said about ancestry, birth and infancy; yet these subjects are referred to occasionally.

One of the fragments of the Greek New Comedy pictures a child as wearied with the mother's ceaseless talk about "high-birth." Persons who had done nothing themselves found refuge in talking about their "ancestors" and disdained association with those not so endowed. It appears, however, that there was among the people a firm conviction that whoever was well-born and did his duty was "high-born." It was evil men only who were of low birth.[1] Ancestry[2] declared itself even among foundlings. The noble of blood, when grown, showed their spirit by engaging in war, the chase, and athletic contests.

Parenthood

Menander and Philemon philosophize on the great facts of life, including parenthood.[3]

The wealthy desired heirs for their property.[4] It was said that it was a good thing to be a father.[5] The *summum bonum*, it was declared, was neither virtue, nor wisdom, but rather peace, which gives children, friends, food, and health.[6]

[1] Men. 533; 290.

[2] C., Epitr. 103 sqq. The Ἥρως θεός is a tutelary divinity, as is the *Lar familiaris* in the *Aulularia*, which is possibly the *Dyscolus* of Menander. The *Lar familiaris* is solicitous for the best interests of the home; the Greek *hero* is usually unfriendly. The *Lar* is the soul of a departed ancestor dwelling at the hearth and guarding the interests of the family. Cf. C., *Hero*, Introd., p. 4; C., *Epitr.*, Introd., p. 28, ft. n. *See also* Westaway, *Original Element in Plautus*, p. 62.

[3] Phil. 116; 107.

[4] Men. 655.

[5] *Ibid.* 157.

[6] Phil. 71.

On the other hand, grief, fear and care, in fine, all ills, fell to a father,[7] and the more children, the more care.[8] A son, provided he was discreet, was a joy; but a daughter was a burdensome possession to her father. No sane man coveted the family of Danaus.[9] A man escapes a bitter life by living singly, or dying on becoming a father, and it was suggested that if a poor man would be happy he must needs keep from marriage.[10] It is hinted with mock seriousness that mother-love was founded on the mother's sure knowledge of her child's parentage. A father could but trust that the child was his.[11] It was Fortune that gave and took away wealth, wife, and children.[12]

[7] Men. 418; 649.
[8] *Ibid.* 656.
[9] *Ibid.* 60; 102.
[10] *Ibid.* 650; 166.
[11] *Ibid.* 657; 261.
[12] *Ibid.* 598.

CHAPTER II

Birth and Infancy

Some of the usual facts and circumstances[1] associated with birth and infancy,[2] find alternately serious and smile-provoking mention in the fragments of the Greek New Comedy.

Artemis is mentioned as being invoked at child-birth for pardon for unchastity by an unmarried young woman.[3] Honey is spoken of as a food for infants.[4] Presents were given to children on birthdays.[5] A good spirit, it was said, was immediately present at the birth of every man to guide him through life and it was felt to be inconceivable that an evil spirit could injure a good life, for the deity was good.[6]

The care of infants, including the bathing of them, is frequently mentioned.[7] The nurse of the father or of the mother sometimes appears later as nurse of the child.[8]

The birth of twins, a boy and a girl, and their early separation, are used as a partial basis for the plot in more than one comedy. Such a plot hinted gravest possibilities but always ended happily.[9]

In Greek New Comedy, Euphro mentions that a name was changed to another name commemorative of an unimportant, but humorous event.[10]

The Exposure of Children

In one fragment of Greek New Comedy it is represented that, while the poor reared their sons, even the rich exposed their daughters.[11] Much material bearing on the subject of the exposure of

[1] Men. 413; 41.
[2] Diph. 72; Men. 42.
[3] Men. 40.
[4] *Ibid.* 947; 972.
[5] Apoll. Carys. 14.
[6] Men. 550; 551.
[7] C., *Sam.* 40; 54.
[8] C., *Sam.* 22.
[9] C., *Hero*, 23 sqq.; C., *Peric.*, 1 sqq.; 693 sqq.
[10] Euphro 9; cf. L., *Bacch.* 361 sq.; L., *Stich.* 630 sqq.; L., *Capt.* 726. *See* article *Nomen*, D.-S., vol. IV, 1.
[11] Posedippus 11; cf. Aelianus, *var. hist.* 2, 7 for a contract-price for rearing a poor man's boy or girl in Thebes, where

children comes from the recently discovered fragments and plays.

The exposure of children is represented in Greek New Comedy as done under stress of circumstances. Frequently the cause was the dread of publicity, as in the case of children born out of wedlock. A nurse sometimes did the actual work of exposing the child.[12] The practice of exposing children is represented as not so unusual but that it was possible for a woman to give the impression successfully that her own child was an exposed child which she had found.[13] Twin-children, a boy and a girl, are represented in one case as being exposed by a young mother and picked up by an old woman who kept the girl, but gave the boy to a rich woman to rear.[14] In course of time, the boy grown to manhood falls desperately in love with his own sister.[15]

It was very common, according to Greek New Comedy, for children who had been exposed not to learn their parentage until they were quite mature. Altruistic motives kept a girl living in poverty from disclosing to a young man reared in a rich family occupying high social position the fact that he was her brother. She feared that it might hurt him in the esteem of the citizens.[16] Twins, a boy and a girl, are represented as exposed by a girl mother and are turned over, all unwittingly, many years later, to their own father by the man who found them when exposed. The exposure of daughters was frequently practiced. Sons were seldom exposed.[17]

Identification at some future time, if change of circumstances made it desirable, was the purpose of leaving upon or with exposed children durable articles of ornament or of use, the latter usually of fine quality[18] (*γνωρίσματα*). Among other tokens mentioned are embroidered garments kept safely in a chest;[19] gold ornaments;[20] a necklace; a gold plated ring with seal of a bull or a goat; and an ax set with gems.[21] The usefulness of these tokens was well attested.

the law did not permit exposure, the magistrates intrusting a child to the one who would rear it at least expense, repayment to be made through the labor of the child when grown.

[12] Kör., *Phasma* 11 sq.; M.-S., p. 528.

[13] C., *Sam.* 367.

[14] C., *Peric.* 1 sqq.; 14 sqq.

[15] C., *Peric.* 340.

[16] C., *Peric.* 27.

[17] C., *Hero*, Hypoth. 1 sqq.; Legr., p. 124.

[18] Frag. Incert. Poet. 313.

[19] C., *Peric.* 632 sqq.

[20] C., *Epitr.* 86 sqq.

[21] *Ibid.* 168 sqq.

A brother, a sister, and a mother, were discovered by the recognition of such articles and a brother was prevented from marrying his sister.[22]

The tokens belonged to and went with the child and did not become the property of the finder of the child. A discussion of the ownership of the γνωρίσματα is a prominent feature of the Epitrepontes and gives to it its name. An attempt was made by the finder of a child to withhold the tokens in transferring the child to a second person to rear.[23]

Menander usually closes a play with an identification, thus accomplishing the dénouement.[24]

The tokens were jealously guarded. The knowledge of their existence, especially if at all valuable, in any house, made interesting vigil and conversation for the busybodies of the community. Close watch was kept by neighbors to see whether those in custody of children appropriated to their own use these tokens, even though their intrinsic value was usually small.[25] A woman is represented as being so curious that she cut an opening through a wall to further her investigations as to the identity of a woman and a child. But her prying activities were met by the use of veils and ribbons on the part of those under surveillance.[26]

Both men and women are represented as taking up deserted children spontaneously, though occasionally, on second thought, and because of poverty and possible worry, they transferred them to others more able to care for them.[27]

The reasons assigned for taking foundlings into the home were various. In one case the reason was the death of a child whose place a foundling would fill.[28] Under such circumstances it was received gladly. In childless homes also foundlings were welcomed.[29] One instance is mentioned where the greatest tenderness is expressed toward a helpless babe by a winsome and chaste music girl.[30] Such expressions of feeling are, however, infrequent.[31]

[22] C., Epitrep. 121 sqq.
[23] *Ibid.* 94.
[24] C., *Peric.*, Introd., p. 134.
[25] C., *Epitr.* 156 sqq.; 165.
[26] Kör., *Phasma* 20; cf. Legr., p. 211.
[27] C., *Epitr.* 28 sqq.; 36 sqq.; 55 sq.
[28] *Ibid.* 55 sq.
[29] C., *Peric.* 1 sqq.
[30] C., *Epitr.* 249; 638.
[31] *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 30.

The exposure of children in most parts of Greece was not only not forbidden but sometimes expressly permitted by law.[32]

Substitution

There is little or nothing of importance connected with the supposititious child in Greek New Comedy, except in the more recently discovered plays. In these considerable use is made of it in the working out of the plots..

Strangely enough, there is affirmation by women that foundlings are their natural children and, on the other hand, that their natural children are foundlings. A penniless old woman finding a boy-child gave it to a childless woman who was wealthy and desired a son.[33] She reared it as her own. On her remarriage she gave her second husband the impression that the child was her natural son.[34] Contrariwise, the case is given of a woman living with a man who had found her in deepest poverty and had brought her into his house. She gave birth to a child of which this man was the father, but she, perhaps[35] aware that he did not wish to rear a family, pretended to him that she had picked it up and finally secured his permission to keep it as a foundling.[36]

One instance is given in which in order to win a confession from a young man that he was the father of a child and in order to aid the real mother of the child, the fiction was maintained temporarily by a second woman that she was the mother of the child in dispute. Confession by the father followed her bold and clever misrepresentation.[37]

A slave who was in love with a free girl, who was then supposed to be a slave, wished to be considered the father of her child in order to claim her the more surely for himself.[38]

The titles Ὑποβολιμαῖος and Ψευδυποβολιμαῖος show the popularity of this theme with the theatre. Kidnapping, exposure and substitution[39] are generally represented as occurring before the play opens.[40]

[32] *See* Legr., p. 210, for a discussion of this subject; D.-S., article *Expositio.*

[33] C., *Peric.* 3 sqq.

[34] *Ibid.* 906 sqq.; 620 sqq.; 632 sqq.

[35] C., *Sam.*, Introd., p. 225.

[36] *Ibid.* 198 sq.

[37] C., *Epitr.* 313 sqq.

[38] C., *Hero.*, Hypoth. 6 sqq.

[39] *See* Legr., pp. 231-232, for a comparison of the uses made of this theme in Greek Tragedy and in Greek New Comedy.

[40] Legr., pp. 199-200.

Substitution was common in all periods of Greek history. This was due partly to the unlimited power which a husband had to divorce a wife where the marriage was without issue.[41]

The Stealing of Children

In Greek New Comedy there is very little on the subject of child stealing.

One reference tells of persons preparing to seize a child and carry it off.[42] Such stolen children were sometimes reared chastely and the reason assigned was that such treatment became them as free children.[43] The words *ἀνδραποκλέπτης*,[44] *ἀνδραποδιστής* and *γραφὴ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ* testify to this criminal but common practice. Decrees were passed against it at Delos and Athens and in Thessaly.[45]

War and Children

The effects of the vicissitudes of war upon the mutual relations of parents and children find little or no representation in Greek New Comedy.

[41] Legr., p. 211.
[42] Men. 204.
[43] Men. 438.
[44] D., Men. Frag. 23.
[45] Legr., p. 207.

CHAPTER III

Teachers and Education

The material in Greek New Comedy bearing on education deals with phases very different from those presented in Plautus. The allusions in Plautus are nearly all concerned with the practical. In Greek New Comedy there is much theorizing about the value of education for use and for culture and incidentally there is some good pedagogy.

To begin anything was to start from the *Alpha*.[1] Ignorance drew upon one the derision of the intelligent.[2] "Know thyself" was interpreted as understanding thoroughly the various duties connected with one's business.[3] Real culture was partially defined as learning to do no harm.[4] Girls were trained in household duties and spun the wool used for clothing.[5] Training in the liberal arts was discussed.[6] Rustics were not expected to know city ways. Time, however, came to their rescue.[7] As for the woes of life, to hide and forget them was best.[8] The sorrow of life was recognized and expression was given to the longing for relief from mental suffering. Relief was sought in learning, but, if learning was not an antidote, why toil to learn?[9]

Time,[10] not a pedagogue, was the teacher of the arts. Education was best acquired in childhood and it is represented that throughout life there was, by those who affected knowledge, early and late in the day, intense study, for labor conquered all things.[11] To teach too many things was ineffective teaching[12] and keeping silence was highly recommended as the first requisite of a learner.[13] Character and common sense must attend learning or learning was of no avail.[14]

[1] D., Adespot. Nov. Comoed. 23.
[2] Cf. D., *Nichochares* 2.
[3] Kör., *Coneas*. Frag. Aliunde Nota 1.
[4] C., *Cithar*. Frag. 4.
[5] C., *Hero* 37 sq.
[6] Kör., *Cithar*. Frag. 5.
[7] Kör., *Georgus* Frag. 4.
[8] D., *Men*. Frag. 24.
[9] D., *Sotades* Frag. 1.
[10] Phil. 159; Kör., *Georgus* frag. 4.
[11] Anaxippus 1, 24 sqq.; Strato 1, 40 sqq.; Bato 4; Phil. 37; Men. 262.
[12] Phil. 154.
[13] Men. 1097; 758.
[14] Theognetus 1; Anaxippus 4.

The mind was to be directed to knowledge rather than to wealth and then knowledge would bring wealth.[15] But a warning was given against the education of women, for an asp was dangerous enough without more poison.[16]

The practical side is represented in a few references. One passage refers to the captive Athenian soldiers who served as teachers in Sicily.[17] In another, Menander intimates that the salary rather than the instructor was the real teacher and that the education of sons cost the father dearly.[18]

The nurse, companion and teacher of the child in the everyday affairs of life,[19] is more than once represented in friendly proximity to the wine jar.[20] Discipline was shot through with sunniness and persuasion accompanied the correction of a child. On the death of the mother, her favorite slave reared the daughter.[21]

In connection with physical education, the Greek New Comedy fragments mention the game of passing the ball back and forward and throwing it high into the air. Games with ἀστράγαλοι[22] are referred to. It might be stated here that sons are represented as gambling away their patrimonies. This was but as "the eating of an egg."[23]

The value of crafts and trades finds frequent mention. It was humorously said that the first man who taught the poor trades that would support them opened the way to misery for many. The poor ought simply to be let die.[24] Craftsmanship, not ancestral wealth, protected, it was said, against poverty and against the humiliation of receiving favors in old age from friends. Chance might take away ancestral wealth but the assurance of an income lay in a trade.[25] Skill was the most valuable of all things, for, while war and fortune robbed men, skill nourished them.[26] The law ineffectually attempted to compel fathers to teach their sons a trade.[27] The race, however, for wealth was not to the swift unless Fortune favored. On the contrary Fortune gives to her favorites even while they sleep.[28]

[15] Phil. 232.
[16] Men. 702.
[17] Frag. Incert. Poet. 20; cf. Anaxippus 1, 1 sqq.
[18] Men. 495.
[19] Men. 397; 521.
[20] *Ibid.* 521.
[21] *Ibid.* 520.
[22] Damoxenus 3; cf. Frag. Incert. Poet. 742; D., Menecrat. 1.
[23] Nichomachus 3; Men. 65; Phil. 209; cf. Frag. Incert. Poet. 586; 587.
[24] Men. 14.
[25] *Ibid.* 68; Phil. 213, 1-15.
[26] Hipparchus 2.
[27] S., p. 98.
[28] Men. 1101.

It is interesting to notice also what professional cooks had to say about their training. Among skilful cooks, so it was said, was found a second "seven wise men."[29] Cooking was heralded by its disciples as a science and as mastered only by those studying it a lifetime and beginning in childhood! Amid tears it was claimed that the "profession" was injured by ill-instructed neophytes, self-proclaimed cooks.[30] Such cooks had spent two years only in preparation and that largely in "apron-wearing." A cook, moreover, was so skilful an entertainer that under his sway laughter drove tears from mourners returning from funerals and the might of his craft was so great that many ate up their property spellbound.[31] Cook[32] differed from cook in glory and all minor sciences,[33] such as astrology, geometry, medicine, were but the stepping-stones to cooking, the one major science. Cooks regarded themselves as benefactors,[34] and as physicians.[35] As has already been indicated "the functions of a cook could not be exercised by slaves nor even by the first comer among free men."[36]

[29] Euphro 1, 5-12.

[30] Sosipater 1, 3 sqq.; 1, 10-57; cf. Athenio 1, 21 sqq.; *see also* Rankin, *The Rôle of the* Μάγειροι, p. 77.

[31] Hegesippus 1, 6-30.

[32] Nichomachus 1, 6; 1, 15 sqq.

[33] For evidence that cooks were represented as free citizens in Greek New Comedy, except in Poseidippus, *see* Kock, Alex. 129; Legr., p. 223. On the subject of Roman cooks as slaves and Greek cooks as free men, see H., pp. 19-21. Rankin, *The Rôle of the* Μάγειροι, p. 20, says that the cook referred to in Poseidippus was not a slave but an apprentice to a higher μάγειρος. The first book on dining was written by Chaerophon in the guise of a letter to Cyrebion, the nickname of Epicrates, a distant relative of Aeschines, the orator. Chaerophon has the doubtful honor of refereuces to him and his art by six poets of the new comedy. The rôle of the cook in Greek New Comedy was that of fun maker and his activities were usually confined to his own "profession" and to discussions relating thereto (C., *Epitr.*, Introd., pp. 32, 33; C., *Sam.*, Introd., p. 231).

[34] Athenio 1.

[35] Damoxenus 2.

[36] Legr., p. 223; Ath. p. 661, d, e. (ἐπιτήδευμα ἦν ἐλευθέρων)

CHAPTER IV

Business and Guardianship

The fragments of Greek New Comedy have a few passages dealing with business and property similar in nature to those in Plautus.

Travel at sea with its dangers frequently created unexpected situations in both business and love affairs.[1] Several fragments tell of the common practice of sons quickly wasting a patrimony.[2] Occasionally villainous slaves made away with the family inheritance.[3]

Nearly everything in Greek New Comedy about business and guardianship comes from the newly found fragments and plays. It is told how a debt incurred for the rearing of a boy and a girl was paid by them with their own labor. They worked for their creditor in very humble occupations and yet they were later discovered to be his own children.[4] *Indocilis pauperiem pati* characterized the trader and Greek New Comedy advised that one should either be rich or go where he had few observers of his poverty.[5] There are references to those who acquired fortunes and were considered rich.[6]

On the other hand, it was a mistake to think that those who were rich and were not compelled to borrow money, escaped restless nights, full of groans and of turnings from side to side, and that their sleep was sweet and gentle. Trouble, according to the *νέα*, was the lot of all, rich and poor.[7] The poor had consolation in the reflection that, of all diseases, the least serious was poverty. The only physician needed was a friend.[8] In death the rich and the very poor were equal.[9]

[1] Men. 348; D., Adespot. Nov. Comoed. 14; cf. Kör., *Cithar.* 46; Kör., *Colax* 3.

[2] Anaxippus 1, 31 sqq.; cf. Nichomachus 3; cf. Men. 349.

[3] G.-H., *Oxyrh. Pap.* 6, 855, 17 sqq.

[4] C., *Hero* 35 sq.; cf. Aelian. var. hist. 2, 7.

[5] Kör., *Georgus* 79 sqq.

[6] C., *Peric.* 22 sq.

[7] Kör., *Cithar.* Frag. 1.

[8] *Ibid.* Frag. 2.

[9] Kör., *Perinth.* Frag. 2.

Wealth gained over night was foully gained. It came by betrayal of city, ship, satrap or allies. The means, flattery. Through flattery the hard-gathered store of frugal honesty was carried away.[10]

A sister is mentioned as entrusted with funds.[11] "Patching the roof" was a favorite metaphor for economy.[12]

A father could disinherit a son by ἀποκήρυξις during his own life time. Thus he brought pressure to bear on him compelling him to comply with his will in regard to marriage and other matters of importance.[13] A son could be disinherited only with the approval of the family council.[14] It is hardly probable that a son was ever actually disinherited.

Athenian youths came of age at eighteen and attained the right to make contracts.[15] Romans did not come into this right until they were twenty-five years of age.[16]

[10] Kör., *Colax* 40 sqq.; 55 sqq.
[11] Men. 516; cf. 128.
[12] C., *Sam.* 390 sq.
[13] Legr., pp. 215-216; cf. M.-S., p. 535 sqq.
[14] S., p. 105.
[15] Legr., p. 216.
[16] Roby, *Roman Private Law*, Vol. I, pp. 123-124.

CHAPTER V

Family Affection

The Greek New Comedy fragments reflect some of the emotional phases of family life, occasional lines taking on a proverbial cast.

By the good will of the father the son was made better.[1] It was a happy fact if he had love toward his offspring.[2] To a son a word of praise from his father was the sweetest of all things.[3] A son's death, or a mother's, should be viewed calmly as in the order of nature and not permitted to take away one's joy in life, thus adding ill to ill.[4] A son is represented as gratefully repaying the goodly nurture of a father now without means.[5] A mother's love was declared greater than a father's, but the conclusion was reached by arguments more dexterous than convincing.[6] The scales of favor inclined toward the son rather than toward the daughter, but perhaps this fact was limited to economic phases of life.[7] A son who brought legal action against his father was held a madman.[8]

A son is represented as advising his father at length and in an altruistic, yet practical, spirit on the best use to which to put his wealth.[9] And again a daughter appears as the confidante of her father in his serious moments.[10] Children express the wish to be helpful to each other and to their mother, for was it not she who bore them? Devotion of brothers, the one to the other, is not a marked characteristic of the *νέα*. Great friendships existed rather between two unrelated men of equal age. An allusion to Polynices may possibly suggest that hostile brothers were occasionally represented, as may also the statement that the love of concord among brothers is sweet.[11] A very unusual note was struck when it was said of a

[1] Men. 808.
[2] Phil. 200.
[3] Men. 660.
[4] Phil. 90.
[5] Men. 354.
[6] *Ibid.* 657.
[7] *Ibid.* 60.
[8] *Ibid.* 806.
[9] *Ibid.* 128.
[10] *Ibid.* 723.
[11] Phil. 156; G.-H., 69 sqq.; Men. 350; 809; Legr., pp. 140-141.

daughter that she was never loved by her father, nor would a dog eat bread at her hand, and wherever she went she carried darkness with her.[12] In a fragment in which a daughter is represented as seduced, her needy mother sadly cursed the deceiver and predicted recompense, since swift were Fortune's changes and the greatest prosperity brought but a luxury that might take wings.[13] In Menander threats are uttered against an offender's entire family for speaking ill of a wife,[14] but it is true that in both the Greek New Comedy and in the Latin comedies scarcely one husband takes pride in being devoted to his wife.[15]

Kindness shown by a boy to an elderly man is spoken of in terms of sonship.[16] On one occasion the words used by a son in addressing his father were πάππα φίλτατε, and this, too, where the father was of a stormy disposition.[17] The word used by the father in reply is τέκνον. The frequent repetition of the word θύγατερ in a conversation would indicate a tender regard of parents for children.[18] The word πάτερ is used by a rustic as a term of respect in addressing an old man.[19]

Fathers and sons were not always companionable. In one family the presence of the father in the city was a signal for the son's hurried departure to the country, and the father's arrival at his country home was coincident with the son's return to city life. In their better moments fathers blamed themselves for this unnatural domestic atmosphere.[20] Accordingly it appears that there were times when the father was not the complaisant one so familiar in Greek New Comedy.[21] It is not to be held seriously against the young and middle-aged that they used to say, "Old men are twice children."[22]

A father was not considered a father, but a master, if he was unwilling to extricate a son from a difficulty in which the son found himself.[23] Again, a father is represented as making every effort to protect the good name of his adopted son who is under suspicion of

[12] Diph. 91.
[13] Men. 94.
[14] *Ibid.* 608.
[15] Legr., p. 121.
[16] Kör., *Georgus* 58.
[17] Kör., *Cithar.* 73.
[18] D., Adespot. Nov. Comoed. 22.
[19] C., *Epitr.* 14; 79; 84; 103.
[20] Kör., *Cithar.* 53 sqq.
[21] C., *Peric.* 703 sq.
[22] Men. 517.
[23] Kör., Fab. Incerta I, Frag. Incert. 2; Kör., *Misoum.* 40 sqq.

grave misconduct.[24] Yet an adopted son obtained and held with difficulty the place of a natural son in the confidence of his adoptive father. It was but rarely that daughters were adopted. An adopted son married the daughter of the man adopting him.[25]

One did not always have ready listeners in his own home.[26] Relatives might be numerous, yet a man might not easily find one to whom to go in an emergency.[27]

The taking of a daughter from her husband was explained apologetically as an action not desirable but necessary[28]. Positive dislike[29] is represented in one instance as existing between a father-in-law[30] and a son-in-law, who in the eyes of the former was "that lofty fellow."

As a rule mothers sympathize[31] with their sons and are loved[32] and honored[33] by them. In the Ὑπερβολιμαῖος of Menander a substituted child, reared in the home of wealthy people, and now grown, wishes to return to his own father though the latter is very poor.[34] In life there was nothing better than friends and sweet was the love of harmony among brothers. To offset this, he was said to be happy who had not known brother, sister, aunt, or uncle and whose life was therefore free from chiding.[35]

A stepmother was the worst of all ills.[36] It is represented that there was a tradition that Charondas in a code of laws disapproved of any citizen's bringing into his home a wife in second marriage and a stepmother to his children, for such was an evil. One marriage, lucky or unlucky, sufficed. More was madness. It may be that it was fear of marriage itself rather than of the cruelty of a stepmother toward children that kept men from a second marriage, for the

[24] C., *Sam.* 138 sqq.

[25] *Ibid.* 121 sqq.; on the motive in adoption, *see* S., p. 76; pp. 117-126; p. 120.

[26] Kör., *Cithar.* Frag. 6.

[27] Kör. *Colax.* Frag. 5.*

[28] C., *Epitr.* 891 sq.

[29] *Ibid.* 528; *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 31.

[30] The *Epitrepontes* might have been called The *Father-in-law*. The "mother-in-law" rôle in life was treated by Apollodorus of Carystus whose work was the original of the *Hecyra* by Terence (Apollod. Caryst. 8; C., *Epitr.*, Introd., p. 43).

[31] Men. 763.

[32] Phil. 156.

[33] Alex. 267.

[34] Legr., p. 200.

[35] Men. 786; D., Men. 5; D., Adespot. Nov. Comoed. 22.

[36] Frag. Incert. Poet. 110, 3 sqq.

stepmother as she appears on the stage in New Comedy is always kind.[37] Needy relatives were disavowed.[38]

Interest in the representation of child-life, of family life, and of the mutual relations of the members of a family is evidenced by the titles of several of the plays of the Greek New Comedy. Among these are an Ἀδελφοί[39] by each of the following: Alexis, Apollodorus, Diphilus, Euphro, Hegesippus, Menander, and Philemon; a Γάμος[40] by Diphilus; a Γάμος or Γαμῶν[41] by Philemon; an Ἐπίκληρος[42] by both Diphilus and Menander; a Ἐκυρά by Apollodorus Carystius; a Ὁμοπάτριοι[43] by Menander; a Παιδάριον[44] and a Παῖδες[45] by Philemon; a Παιδίον[46] by Apollodorus, by Menander and by Poseidippus; a Τίτθη[47] by Menander; a Φιλάδελφοι[48] by each of the following: Menander, Philippides and Sosicrates; a Φιλάδελφοι[49] or Ἀποκαρτερῶν by Apollodorus Gelous; a Φιλάδελφος[50] or Φιλάδελφοι by Diphilus; a Χήρα[51] by both Menander and Philemon.

The theatres are said to have been closed to prevent the representation in tragedy of the unnatural love of Pasiphaë and, in comedy, of scenes of childbirth.[52]

Allied to the portrayal of family affection is the expression of love of native country, "the fatherland." To be truly happy was to live free and in the "fatherland" or not to live at all.[53]

The reverence due to parents finds expression in the fragments of Greek New Comedy. These fragments show more on the subject and a nobler conception of the relation than do the comedies of Plautus. Terse and pithy, they read like proverbs.

It was said that character, not gray hairs only, was the basis of respect.[54] A son was born not for self but for parents[55] and not to honor one's father above self was sacrilege.[56] One son is properly

[37] Frag. Incert. Poet. 110; Men. 520; Legr., p. 139.

[38] Men. 4.

[39] Alex. 73; Apollod. 1; Diph. 3; Euphro 1; Hegesippus 1; Men. 1; Phil. 4.

[40] Diph. 24.

[41] Phil. 17.

[42] Diph. 41; Men. 164; Apoll. Carys. 7; cf. Men. 153.

[43] Men. 361.

[44] Phil. 55.

[45] *Ibid.* 56.

[46] Apollod. 9; Men. 370; Poseidippus 21.

[47] Men. 461.

[48] Men. 503; Philippides 18; Sosicrates 2.

[49] Apollod. Gelous 3.

[50] Diph.; 81, 82.

[51] Men. 514; Phil. 87.

[52] Cf. Men. 941.

[53] Men. 145.

[54] Men. 639.

[55] *Ibid.* 866.

[56] Diph. 93; 38; Men. 363.

held up to scorn for selling the stones of his father's monument. Speaking evil of parents was blasphemy toward the gods. Love toward parents was to be steadfast. The mother is not specifically mentioned in the fragments referring directly to this subject, while the father is mentioned. It is interesting that in most instances the plural form, parents (γονεῖς), is used. He was ἄτιμος τὸ σῶμα who mistreated his parents.[57] Within the family circle and at table, the father is represented in one instance as opening the conversation, followed by the mother. An aunt spoke next, then the aged father of the aunt, and finally an elderly lady.[58]

[57] Men. 715; Phil. 237; *see also* S., pp. 96-97.

[58] Men. 923; cf. D., Adespot. Nov. Comoed. 17, 19; Legr., pp. 141-142.

CHAPTER VI

Adolescence and Morals

The teaching of morals is not a conspicuous part of the plots in Menander's plays. He purposely hid such teaching.[1]

Greek New Comedy, however, represents discreet sons as a joy to a father.[2] Without the blush of modesty and reverent fear there was said to be no virtue.[3] Wrong doing had little excuse. But again, to err was human and caused no astonishment.[4] The evidence of a witness in court was valued according to his character as known from boyhood.[5] Social environment often corrupted and slaves untaught young men lessons of virtue learned as boys, excusing themselves by saying that they were letting youth see what "life" was.[6] The *paedagogus* was the companion and moral guardian of young men and warned them against the "parasites" as destructive spirits. Drunkenness was a pretext to cover many a gross wrong, but was not always accepted as a cogent reason. On the other hand, disappointed lovers drowned sorrow in drink.[7] Youth and love were not to be conquered by words.[8] Solon made due and safe provision for the passion of youth, first of lawgivers, it was said, to recognize nature's necessity.[9] Youths in love ate up their patrimonies. It was suggested, with a play on the word, that, to teach them the value of property, it would be well if such as devoured ancestral lands were compelled to sail on and on forever without opportunity of making a landing.[10]

With respect to the association of persons of different ages, "birds of a feather."[11] Age in the home fretted the nestlings.[12] A

[1] Legr., p. 441.
[2] Men. 603; cf. 638; 639.
[3] *Ibid.* 1090.
[4] *Ibid.* 230; 499.
[5] Apollod. 13.
[6] Men. 218; I *Cor.* 15, 33; Bato 5.
[7] Philippides 26; C., *Peric.* 869.
[8] Men. 59; cf. *Ibid.* 209; 798.
[9] Phil. 4.
[10] Anaxippus 1, 30 sqq.; Men. 349; Nichomachus 3.
[11] Cf. Frag. Incert. Poet. 1206.
[12] Men. 874.

youthful-hearted father was a delight.[13] Strength was the glory of the son, wisdom, of the father. By patience a woman could show that she had a truly Greek soul.[14]

In the correction of a son the words were stern, but the spirit a father's.[15] The greater the father's love, the less waywardness of the son it took to rouse his anger.[16] Yet there was little real lightning in the threatening cloud. A father's threats against his son were as idle as a lover's against his mistress.[17] As seen in the *νέα*, the father was not a good disciplinarian, though there was shame for conduct expressed by repentant sons.[18] Gentleness obtained in the government not only of sons but of the entire household.[19] Sometimes discipline passed from gentleness to weakness and then fathers were under the necessity of defending themselves and their ways from the raillery[20] of their sons. On the other hand, fathers who gave themselves cheerfully to pleasing their sons are represented as thereby making them guardians of, instead of successors[21] to, their property.

There are a few references to religion and worship in passages concerned with family relations. The loved of the gods are represented as dying young.[22] The efficacy of prayer was proportioned to the petitioner's righteousness.[23]

The place was yet to be discovered, we are told, that made all men either good or bad.[24] To sin was natural.[25] When age advanced, the strongest was he who was patient under greatest wrong, while weakness was quickly revealed by a hot temper and severity.[26] Chance was the ally of the wise and every man had his good *daemon*. Only those who became bad said the *daemon* was bad.[27]

Young men expressed regret that the ideals which they acknowledged, and for which they were supposed to stand, had not been lived up to by them. They said that they felt humiliated. Pride had gone before a fall.[28]

[13] Men. 744; 749.
[14] C., *Peric.* 355-357.
[15] Men. 662.
[16] *Ibid.* 659.
[17] *Ibid.* 454; 661.
[18] *Ibid.* 144; 586; Frag. Incert. Poet. 281.
[19] Men. 231; 110.
[20] Apollod. 7.
[21] Men. 663.
[22] *Ibid.* 125; cf. L., *Bacch.* 816 sqq.
[23] G.-H., *Oxyrh. Pap.* 3, 413, 44 sqq.
[24] D., Frag. Incert. Comoed. 51.
[25] D., Men. 15.
[26] Kör., *Georgus* Frag. 3.
[27] D., Men. 16; cf. Plat. *Civ.* II., p. 379c.
[28] C., *Epitr.* 693 sqq.

A slave in one instance is spoken of as neutral in morals and as not being a check on his young master. His master was to him city, refuge, law, judge of right and wrong. His master's will was the rule of his life.[29]

The immoderate use of wine by both young men and women finds frequent mention.[30] The chorus of the *Epitrepontes* is a band of drunken youths.[31] Women of the lower class, it is said, drank "until they died of it."[32] Old women had not learned better by age.[33]

One young man is represented as recently married and as deliberately taking to "wine and women" to compel his father-in-law to recall his daughter.[34] Another, who was but recently married and whose wife had brought him a dowry of four talents of silver, appears as already giving his attention entirely to other women and is described as literally drinking up his wife's fortune,[35] whereat the countenance of his father-in-law, as Greek New Comedy puts it, is like that of a philosopher, wretched and angry.[36]

It was said of wine that it made men talkative and put them off their guard in conversation and thus secrets were divulged.[37] There was much drinking among young men who met in groups for conversation and fellowship. It was during games of chance played under these circumstances that young men lost rings or other stakes, identification of which later helped some seemingly unfortunate love affair to prosperous issue.[38] Wine, too, was blamed for impetuous conduct toward young women.[39]

Well-defined types of fathers appear such as Demeas and Niceratus, virtuous to a degree, but ready to believe most improbable reports and quick to rage on the least provocation.[40] There are also the indulgent father and the miserly father.[41]

A father is represented as scandalized at learning that his son had been imprudent in a love affair, but this is, once more, a case of "like father, like son."[42] In the case mentioned the father was in-

[29] Kör., Fab. Incert. II., 36 sqq.
[30] Kör., *Peric.* 22; C., *Sam.* 127; cf. K., *Aristoph.* 596.
[31] C., *Epitr.* 195; 201; *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 33.
[32] C., *Sam.* 180.
[33] Kör., *Perinth.* Frag. 5.
[34] C., *Epitr.* 217; 221; cf. C., *Peric.* 56; 244; 869.
[35] Kör., Fab. Incert. II., 1 sqq.
[36] *Ibid.* 17 sqq.
[37] C., *Epitr.* 305.
[38] *Ibid.* 190; 255; 286.
[39] *Ibid.* 235 sqq.; 260 sqq.
[40] C., *Sam.*, Introd., p. 230.
[41] C., *Epitr.*, Introd., p. 30.
[42] C., *Sam.* 133 sqq.; cf. Kör., Fab. Incert. I, 53 sq.

clined to believe the son was the victim of the flattery of a woman of low character and that he was in his cups at the time. Youth and wine were to blame.[43] It is represented that the son was so mortified that, had it not been for the cords of love, he would have gone abroad and lived a soldier's life.[44]

The festivals in honor of the gods, particularly such as occurred at night and were celebrated by women, were a contributing cause to the moral lapses of youth. It is said that at the *Tauropolia* a beautiful and rich free maiden was the victim of the passion of her young lover.[45] A meeting with a young woman at Epheseus during *δειπνοφορία* of the free young women is mentioned.[46] There is mention also of a *θεσμοφοριαδίς τις ἢ σκιραδίς*[47]. At the Dionysiac celebrations bandying of abusive remarks was indulged in by the celebrants as they rode in conveyances in the line of procession.[48] The "Dionysia" is referred to in connection with a love affair of a young woman. From Menander and from Plautus we get the same impression as to the unfavorable moral effects of chance acquaintances made at the festivals of Dionysus and of Demeter. The streets of Greek cities were without police protection in the modern sense. This gave great opportunity for the attacks upon women which are so often referred to in comedy. These adventures are represented as having usually occurred before the time at which the play opens.[49]

Young men passionately in love with slave girls are said to have made secret purchase of them from their owners.[50] All music girls were not necessarily unchaste and, in one instance, one of them affirmed her chastity.[51]

In Greek New Comedy there is not a single untrue wife represented on the stage. Few adulterous husbands appear in this literature. There is a play by Philemon with the title *Παιδεραστάι*, yet there is not convincing evidence that there were represented any characters actuated by unnatural love. Plutarch expressly states that Menander did not admit them into his plots.[52]

[43] C., *Sam.* 127; cf. K., *Aristoph.* 596.
[44] C., *Sam.* 420 sqq.
[45] C., *Epitr.* 235; 260 sqq.; 267 sqq.; cf. Kör., Fab. Incert. I, Frag. Incert. 12.
[46] Kör., *Cithar.* 94 sqq.
[47] Kör., Fab. Incert. I, Frag. Incert. 13 sq.
[48] Kör., *Perinth.* Frag. 4.
[49] Kör., *Phasma* 1; Men. 558; 404; cf. L., *Aul.* 36; 737 sqq.; *Cist.* 89 sqq.; *Curc.* 644 sqq.; Legr., p. 190; pp. 208-209.
[50] D., Adespot. Nov. Comoed. Frag. 1.
[51] Kör., *Cithar.* 41; C., *Epitr.*, Introd., p. 30.
[52] Legr., p. 460.

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE

In the fragments of the νέα the interest of parents in the future of their children is a chief source of the many and various utterances on marriage.

A prime requisite for marriage was equality in personal worth.[1] Character was better than gold. Character rendered an ugly woman beautiful.[2] When a man married he brought into his home not merely a wife but a spirit either good or bad. In a woman silence spoke most persuasively of her worth. Dodona's bronze could not subdue the resonance of some women's voices. Not even night stopped their talk.[3] It was wealth for a woman to have the love of her husband.[4]

Marriage problems were discussed from all angles. Advanced age was a hindrance to a man's marrying a young woman, yet hope made him confident.[5] Daughters were considered hard to marry off.[6] On the other hand, fathers were reluctant to give them in marriage.[7] At the best any wife was an evil and happy the husband who was least unfortunate. A sailor might escape the Libyan or Aegean but there never came safe to land the man who dared the storms of the sea of wedded life.[8] Marriage, like old age, was first sought and then regretted. To bury a woman was better than to marry her.[9] It was better to be disfranchised than married.[10] It was the duty of a married man to consider himself happy if he was not unhappy. Woman was an evil. It was only a question of the least evil.[11] The first man to marry was excusable because of his ignorance of the nature of his venture, the second ought to have died a terrible death.[12] Bachelors congratulated themselves on being wifeless.[13] Happy was

[1] Frag. Incert. Poet. 206.
[2] Cf. Men. 1100; 1109; Phil. 170; cf. Diph. 114; cf. Men. 645; 646.
[3] Men. 66; 658.
[4] *Ibid.* 1107.
[5] Frag. Incert. Poet. 1215; 225.
[6] Men. 1211; cf. Diph. 136.
[7] Men. 102.
[8] *Ibid.* 1; 22; 65; 532; 648; 651.
[9] Frag. Incert. Poet. 132; Phil. 236.
[10] Alex. 262.
[11] Men. 648; cf. *ibid.* 532.
[12] *Ibid.* 154; cf. Adespot. 110.
[13] Phil. 239.

he who had taken no wife.[14] Men were advised to follow Plato, take no wife, and lead a life that was untroubled.[15]

As in Plautus, there is much said about the relation of wealth to marriage. To be equal in wealth to the other party to the marriage was desired by both men and women. The poor were suspicious of the rich.[16] Equality in wealth with one's wife is represented as needful, for a poor man who married a rich woman was not taking to himself a rich wife but was giving himself to her.[17] Two views are expressed as to the kind of men who should marry. A careful man should marry, the argument ran, for he would keep up a good establishment. A lover of ease, on the other hand, should marry, for he was the very one who needed for his full freedom from care a thirfty stewardess of his fortune.[18]

A long friendship between families was a ground for marriage. A man might marry his half-sister.[19] The part payment of a dowry had more or less binding effect on a marriage agreement.[20]

Love is represented as the marriage motive when a son told his father that he was in love with a young woman to such a degree that if he were refused her by her father he would be utterly undone, all of which he prayed the gods forbid.[21]

Marriage is represented as following with great frequency youthful indiscretion and the birth of a child out of wedlock when the father and the mother have been found to occupy equal social position.[22] Menander's favorite way of affording a solution is by completing an identification. A girl who had been given to a soldier in a rather free union is formally married to him when her father is discovered by the evidence of tokens in the form of wearing apparel belonging to the girl and made many years before by her mother.[23]

The birth of a child when the decision about marriage was in balance was a deciding factor. If violence had been done a young woman of good social standing the offender was subject to a suit for damages unless he took the woman in marriage. The action

[14] Men. 1.
[15] Philippides 6.
[16] Men. 6.
[17] Men. 583; S., pp. 51-52.
[18] Frag. Comic. Anon. 119.
[19] G.-H., 1-12. *See*, however, Becker, *Charicles*, p. 478.
[20] G.-H., *Oxyrh. Pap.* 1, 11, 1-19.
[21] *Ibid.* 7, 1013, 40 sqq.
[22] C., *Sam.* 444 sqq.; C., *Hero*, Hypoth. 12; C., *Epitr.* 698 sqq.; 742.
[23] C., *Peric.* 625 sqq.; 893 sqq.

at law was δίκη βιαίων.[24] However, it was not always in a happy frame of mind that the marriage relation was assumed.[25] Marriage might be sufficient cause in and of itself to assuage the anger of the father of the damsel.[26] Sometimes seduction was not attributed to passion but to set purpose and even to hate.[27]

In Epicharmus we find as severe an arraignment of women as may be met with. They are, as he represents them, worse than the wild beasts, comparable only to lions and to Molossiam hounds. They were charged with extravagant use of money, religious festivals being mentioned as among the occasions on which they manifested this disposition. One woman offered sacrifices five times daily while her retinue of servants beat cymbals and uttered piercing cries.[28]

The marriages of Greek New Comedy are, so far as the young men are concerned, love affairs of the emotional type. To some of them, it was averred, life was not to be worth the living if the fair ones did not become theirs.[29]

To marry was to gamble with fortune. A man might win a wife thereby and he might win, beautiful though she was, a talker and a "gadabout".[30] To Fortune was attributed good-luck in a matrimonial venture. Fortune was not blind, but saw and helped. Ill-luck was really the harbinger of great good luck.[31] But, again, fortune was of varied hues and how deceitful![32] Sacrifice was helpful for the successful attainment of a lover's suit.[33]

Parents are represented as being consulted by their children in their marriage plans and a father appears as his son's adviser at the latter's request.[34] At other times sons were a law to themselves.[35] Widows[36] were expected to re-marry and were even constrained to do so.

There are no fortune hunters represented in New Comedy. Young lovers do not allow pecuniary considerations to stand in the

[24] Kör., Fab. Incert. I, 50 sqq.; Legr., p. 209; M.-S., p. 509.
[25] Kör., Fab. Incert. I, 43 sqq.
[26] C., *Sam.* 383 sqq.; 395 sqq.
[27] *Ibid.* 118 sq.
[28] D., Appendix, Epicharmus 3; Men. 326; Legr., p. 172.
[29] Kör., *Misoum.* 40 sqq.
[30] D., Appendix, Epicharmus 4.
[31] Kör., *Coneas.* 13.
[32] Kör., *Cithar.* Frag. Aliunde nota 8.
[33] C., *Hero* 48.
[34] Kör., *Cithar.* 88 sqq. *See* S., p. 54.
[35] C., *Sam.* 422.
[36] Becker, *Charicles*, p. 478.

way of their inclinations,[37] although wealthy mothers wished their sons to marry into wealthy families.[38]

Plato would forbid marriage to dowered wives for the reason that a dowry makes the wife insolent, the husband cringing (*ἀνελεύθερος διὰ χρήματα*).[39] Aristotle held the same view (*ἄοχουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπίκληροι οὖσαι*).[40] The dowry, however, was a safeguard to a woman, assuring her suitable social position and protecting her against divorce. The husband's fear of losing the use of her money or property would make him reluctant to take steps against her.[41]

Dowry is treated by the Greek New Comedy in the most extravagant manner. As compared with inquiry into the amount of dowry, inquiry into ancestry, education, social standing, and character, was waste of time. To let slip the opportunity to marry a girl with a big dowry was to bid farewell to sleep and to come under judgment in *Hades'!* A man therefore ought to take the chance of his wife's being unreasonable, tempestuous, wicked, or, if worse comes to worst, talkative; the value of a "stay-at-home" wife was a negligible factor, but an "up-and-away" dowry—to lay successful siege to that betokened a marital strategist.[42] If one must marry, let him shut his eyes and take to himself the lusty dowry and—the woman. The daily yoke, however, had its consolation. A wife given to spending, when her husband fell ill, carefully nursed him; if he died, dutifully buried him.[43]

We find, however, contrary views. Warnings were given that a fair dowry might blind a man to a woman's moral bankruptcy.[44] A wife's riches inflated a man with a feeling of importance while at market or in the shops, but arriving home he found a wife ruling and contentious, so much so that his troubles from wealth were as great as a poor man's from poverty.[45] An heiress, it was said, "slept on either ear." As wife, she ruled farm and fireside and, as mother, she bore hard upon the son and even harder upon the daughter.[46] An inheritance, not a dowry, was what made a man happy, for it was said that he never had safe and happy possession of the dowry.[47]

[37] Legr., p. 148.
[38] Men. 929.
[39] Plat. *Legg.*, p. 774 C.
[40] Arist. *Eth. Nicom.* VIII, 12, p. 1161 A.
[41] S., pp. 69-70.
[42] Men. 532; Frag. Incert. Poet. 117.
[43] Men. 654; 325.
[44] Philippides 28.
[45] Men. 302.
[46] *Ibid.* 402; 403.
[47] *Ibid.* 582.

The view, moreover, was expressed that to marry any rich woman was a blunder. No burden was heavier to bear than a woman with a large dowry.[48] Mention is made of men who were found willing to marry dowerless women.[49] Sometimes a well-to-do man married a poor girl because of kindness received from her family.[50]

The question "Why did you not take the woman and the property?" tells its own story of the importance of the dowry in the eyes of young men.[51] Joyous anticipation of securing a wife who was to bring a dowry of three talents made a young man think he must be dreaming.[52] One of the characters in the *νέα* does not see in the dissipation of a recently married young man an almost incredible moral failure but only an economic waste. He merely observes that one day with the *leno* costs as much as the maintenance for the same period of nearly two score hungry men.[53]

Some ungenerous fathers wished to give their daughters in marriage without dowry.

To save a dowry that was being rapidly wasted, a father-in-law threatened to take his daughter and the dowry from her spendthrift husband. There is in this case, however, a probability that the miserly old man wanted the dowry back. The only means of recovery was to take the daughter back first using as a pretext the acknowledged neglect of her by her husband. According to Chorikios, *Apologie des Mimes*, in *Revue de Philologie* I (1877), pp. 208-247, the old Smicrines of the *Epitrepontes* was miserly to the point of insanity. He was fearful that the smoke leaving his house by the way of the chimney might be carrying away some of his property with it. A father was *κύριος* even over his married daughters and could recall them and marry them to other husbands.[54]

The honorable reputation of a family and the glory of its history were important factors in contracting marriage.[55] Among the desirable attributes of marriageable young women were free condition, Greek citizenship and residence, and wealth of parents assuring a goodly dowry.[56] Athenians were forbidden to marry foreigners.[57]

[48] Men. 585; cf. Alex. 341.
[49] Men. 103.
[50] G.-H., 74.
[51] Kör., *Cithar.* 42 sq.; cf. 36 sqq.
[52] Kör., *Coneas.* 2.
[53] Kör., Fab. Incert. II, 8 sqq.
[54] Men. 103; C., *Epitr.* 852 sqq.; 866 sqq.; 891 sqq.; *Revue de Phil.* I (1877), p. 229.
[55] Kör., *Colax* 15.
[56] Kör., *Cithar.* 36 sqq.; 85 sqq.
[57] S., p. 46.

In one instance a father's decision as to the girl that was to be his son's wife evoked from the son the exclamation "Earth and Gods."[58] Yet it was regarded as a most ridiculous situation when a youth stood silent and indifferent at the announcement that there had been arranged for him a marriage with a girl of free station in life.[59]

In Greek New Comedy the purpose of marriage is stated to be, with briefest definition, the begetting of lawful children.[60] An oath that they were chaste was taken by Athenian women before marriage.[61]

Χήρα (*Widow*) is the title of a comedy by Philemon and of one by Menander.[62]

An unhappy first marriage was not to be construed by a man as a reason for a second marriage, but as a warning to prevent further disaster. The evil of evils was a stepmother.

Betrothal

An instance is given of betrothal arranged by a father for a son without the latter's knowledge to the son's half-sister. On arriving home from a distance the son found the images garlanded and sacrifice being offered by his father, who is mentioned as giving away the bride.[63] A thrifty and dutiful young man was instrumental in bringing about the promise of a rich man, by whom he was employed, to marry his sister.[64]

A mother was, in one instance, her son's successful matrimonial envoy to the mother of the young woman with whom he was in love.[65] A mother, however, never betrothed nor gave her daughter in marriage in the legal sense.[66]

A few words of an informal nature were exchanged between the κύριος of the bride and the future husband at the time of the ἐγγύησις.[67] The language of the *Sponsalia* as found in Plautus is much more

[58] C., *Peric.* 907; "Unus Multorum," *Lately-Discovered Fragments of Menander*, p. 157.

[59] Kör., *Georgus* Frag. Aliunde nota 5.

[60] C., *Peric.* 894 sq.; Kör., Fabula Incert. I, 27; cf. L., *Aul.* 146 sqq. On the low ideal of marriage, cf. D.-S., vol. III, 2, p. 1639.

[61] C., *Epitr.* 223; *ibid.*, Introd., p. 31.

[62] Phil. 87; Men. 514.

[63] G.-H., 1-12.

[64] *Ibid.* 68 sqq.; S., p. 55; p. 106.

[65] G.-H., *Oxyrh. Pap.* 10, 1235, 37 sqq.

[66] S., p. 55, ft. n.

[67] Legr., p. 42; M.-S., p. 505 sqq.

formal. The father or nearest male blood relative was κύριος. If the ἐγγύησις was omitted or not performed by the proper person, "the marriage was null and the children illegitimate."[68]

Marriage Ceremonies

Greek New Comedy furnishes some material that is similar to, and even identical with, the representation in Plautus of marriage customs.

The father appears to have been in charge of the marriage ceremony. Sacrifice preceded the marriage.[69] Flowers,[70] including myrtle, ivy and laurel, were offered to the gods. Connubial felicity was sought thus. In one instance a sheep was sacrificed that was so ill favored that it was said that only the bones and the vitals were the portion for the gods; only the fleece, that for the friends[71].

A sacrifice that was offered by a lover just preceding the formal giving to him of a young woman as his wife by her father is described. This sacrifice was an act of thanksgiving for reconciliation after a serious misunderstanding. A female pig was slaughtered by the cook.[72] Garlands and a sacrificial basket are mentioned.[73]

A father is represented as giving his daughter to a soldier and with the usual formula, "for the begetting of children."[74] Three talents, it is represented, went with her as dowry. The father did not overlook a little much needed admonition to his new son-in-law. The use of sesame at a marriage ceremony was emblematic, typifying a wealth of children.[75] A marriage occasion was synonymous with joyousness[76] Feasting and music contributed to the pleasure[77] of the guests, but the expense sometimes taxed the household treasury almost beyond endurance.[78]

A noticeable feature of some of the marriage ceremonies in the νέα is the suddenness with which they are begun and the haste with which they are conducted. The haste is frequently because of the imminence of the birth of a child. Yet many formalities are observed.

[68] Whibl., p. 593; D.-S., vol. III, 2, p. 1640.
[69] Men. 1058.
[70] G.-H., 7 sqq.; 36 sqq.
[71] C., *Sam.* 7; 187 sqq.
[72] C., *Peric.* 873 sqq.
[73] *Ibid.* 891 sqq.
[74] Men. 720; G.-H., *Oxyrh. Pap.* 2, 211, 37 sqq.; cf. L., *Aul.* 148.
[75] Men. 1004 sqq.; cf. 847.
[76] Hegesippus 1, 10 sqq.
[77] Poseidippus 20 sqq.; 26.
[78] Men. 601.

A dinner is given, calling for unusual amounts of meal, water, oil, and charcoal.[79] Orders call for the hurried preparation of food. All is bustle and excitement.[80] The house is put in order and the dishes receive a thorough cleansing.[81] Tables are provided and, to supervise the whole and to see that the tables are properly adorned, a manager is called in.[82]

[79] C., *Sam.* 12.
[80] *Ibid.* 4 sqq.; cf. 202; 407 sqq.
[81] Kör., *Phasma* Frag. 2.
[82] C., *Sam.* 74.

CHAPTER VIII

Divorce

In the recently found fragments of the Greek New Comedy there are interesting references to the subject of divorce.

The father had the right, on sufficient evidence of wrong conduct by his son-in-law, to withdraw his daughter from her husband's control and bring her to his own home. This could be done even against her will, but it is represented that it was done only after attempts at reconciliation had failed.[1] The dowry in such a case followed the wife. The action of a wife in leaving a husband was called ἀπόλειψις.[2] The leaving of her husband by a wife is represented as regrettable and as done only as a last resort.[3]

Marriage in many cases is represented as an affair of the heart. It was for life and for better or for worse.[4] The most flagrant violations of domestic usage were not always enough to allow a husband to pass out of the affections of his wife or to cause separation.[5] In Greek New Comedy there are represented instances of very great devotion on the part of husband and wife, each toward the other, as in the case of the mutual love of Charisius and Pamphila in the *Epitrepontes*.[6]

If a wife was found to have been unchaste before marriage, it was within the power of the husband to divorce her (ἀπόπεμψις).[7] As will be seen later he was compelled to dismiss her. But the reluctance of a husband, in a case mentioned, to proceed, led to a delay sufficient to allow the bringing of such new light on the situation that all ended happily. It is in keeping with this gentleness of temper that, during the time that this husband was estranged, he himself remained away from his home rather than dismiss his wife.[8] An instance is cited showing a different spirit, where the relationship, however, is one of concubinage and not of marriage. A man had

[1] C., *Epitr.* 866 sqq.
[2] *Ibid.* 852 sqq.; 866 sqq.; *ibid.*, Introd., p. 41, ft. n.
[3] *Ibid.* 891 sqq.
[4] *Ibid.* 705 sqq.
[5] *Ibid.* 705 sqq.
[6] *Ibid.* Introd., pp. 30, 31.
[7] *Ibid.* Introd., p. 41, ft. n.; M.-S., p. 511 sqq.
[8] C., *Epitr.* 351; 410.

received into his house a young woman who was poor and was, supposedly, a foreigner. He was greatly in love with her and was willing to marry her but for her foreign birth. Later he was furiously angry with her, suspecting her of infidelity to him, called her his "Helen" and threatened to drive her forth into the streets.[9]

In the *Periceiromene* the law cited on adultery is Corinthian and not Attic. Corinthian law allowed only an action at law, not vengeance.[10]

The embarrassing situation of a father as arbiter between his daughters and their husbands or, in some cases, their lovers is much alike in Greek New Comedy and in Plautus.[11] A wife's return home to her father from her husband is represented as full of shame. It was the "return lap"[12] in the marriage race.

There is no representation in New Comedy of a wife who is unfaithful to her husband. Although there is a play with the title Μοιχός by Philemon this does not necessarily prove a wife's infidelity, even were it true that a title always indicates the content of a play. The word μοιχός does not necessarily mean the seducer of a married woman.[13]

No divorce is represented in extant New Comedy as actually occurring, though threats to divorce do occur. If divorce was represented as occurring, such divorce was probably but a temporary separation.[14] If a wife was found by her husband guilty of infidelity, he was compelled to divorce her, (ἐκπέμπειν, ἀποπέμπειν). No legal process, beyond the summoning of witnesses, was necessary. A wife could leave (ἀπολείπειν) her husband for infidelity or ill usage, taking her property with her.[15]

[9] C., *Sam.* 121 sqq.; 175; *see* S., pp. 72-73, on the perplexing subject of concubinage.

[10] C., *Peric.*, Introd., p. 145.

[11] *Ibid.* 365 sqq.; L., *Stich.* 79 sqq.

[12] Anaxandrides 56.

[13] Legr., pp. 122-123.

[14] *Ibid.* p. 199.

[15] Whibl., pp. 613-614. *See* S., pp. 61-65, on the frequency of divorce and the ease with which it was accomplished, particularly by men; *also*, for the law requiring divorce if the wife was unchaste. On the doubt as to whether or not dowry was returned in case of a wife's infidelity or her unchastity before her marriage, *see* D.-S., article *divortium*; *see also* Meier-Schömann-Lipsius, *Attische Process*, p. 519 sqq.

CHAPTER IX

The Figurative Use of Words

A few examples of the figurative use of words expressive of family relationship are met with in Greek New Comedy.

Earth was the "mother and nurse" of all.[1] Avarice was the "mother" of cruelty.[2] A young man was a "fledgling" and to be foolish was to have a "child's mind."[3] Fish were the "children" of Nereus.[4] "Father" was the name humorously applied by a man, who was dining, to a table delicacy that pleased his appetite.[5]

[1] Cf. Men. 349.
[2] Men. 949.
[3] Frag. Incert. Poet. 1291.
[4] Euphro 8.
[5] Phil. 42.

PART II

THE COMEDIES OF PLAUTUS

CHAPTER I

Ancestry

In the comedies of Plautus family honor is represented as demanding that wealth and social standing inherited from ancestors be transmitted undiminished to posterity.[1] Pride in ancestry and a determination to add to the family honors were humorously attributed even to a slave.[2] Ancient family honor was a great restraining force and chastity was tenaciously clung to by young women of good family when carried into slavery.[3] Great stress was laid on free birth.[4] Contrariwise, sons of the "good families" were so frequently guilty of escapades that surprise was unusual.[5] The "good families" were recognized as a clique whose members cultivated mutual friendship.[6]

Parenthood

Marriage was candidly defined in terms of parenthood.[7] Plautus represents a husband and a wife[8] as expressing a desire for offspring. It was honorable to rear children to continue the family glory.[9] The children of the poor sustained the old age[10] of parents and children were felt to be their companions.[11] They were desired even by so-called "haters[12] of women" who, acquiring them from kidnappers, reared them as their own.[13] The birth of a son gave especial delight.[14] Resemblance to the father was a matter of pride, as were also physical strength and beauty.[15] Grandchildren were eagerly welcomed.[16] Parents were to reap glory by the deeds of their sons,

[1] *Trin.* 642 sqq.; 655 sqq.; *Curc.* 23 sq.
[2] *Stich.* 303 sq.
[3] *Poen.* 1138; 1190; 1201 sq.
[4] *Rud.* 738.
[5] *Most.* 1138 sqq.
[6] *Cist.* 25.
[7] *Aul.* 146 sqq. For a playful statement of family relations, *see* K. Men. 1085.
[8] *Amph.* 720; 681.
[9] *Mil.* 703 sq.
[10] *Rud.* 215 sqq.; cf. *Asin.* 16; *Capt.* 763.
[11] *Mil.* 705 sqq.
[12] *Poen.* 74 *osori mulierum*; cf. K., Men. frag. 325, Μισογύνης.
[13] *Poen.* 73 sqq.
[14] *Trin.* 574 sqq.; cf. *Harr.*, pp. 73-77.
[15] *Truc.* 505 sqq.
[16] *Aul.* 796 sqq.

and this hope found at times most extravagant expression.[17] To be fortunate was "to have twins and triplets."[18]

There was, however, an indisposition to rear children because of anxieties incident.[19] Among practical deterrents were the expenses, so many and so great that a child "cost its weight in gold."[20] Nurses usually drew heavily on the master's wine cellar.[21] The advent of twins caused surprise or even shock.[22] The birth of a child when "food was dear" ran counter to the current theories of household economics.[23]

[17] *Amph.* 1139 sq.; *Truc.* 509; 516.
[18] *Mil.* 717.
[19] *Ibid.* 718.
[20] *Truc.* 537 sq.; 901 sqq.; 935; *Merc.* 59.
[21] *Truc.* 901 sqq.
[22] *Amph.* 1088 sq.
[23] *Stich.* 179 sq.

CHAPTER II

Birth and Infancy

Many of the circumstances connected with birth* and infancy, such as the lifting of the child from the ground by the father, or in his absence, by the mother, are referred to by Plautus.[1] Midwives were called in to give aid.[2] Juno Lucina was invoked for reasons of religion and timely use was also made of the name in exclamation.[3] Religious rites, such as worship of the gods, washing of the hands, and covering of the head, were performed in anticipation of the birth of a child by the prospective mother,[4] and generous offerings were made with cleansed vessels by the father after the child was born.[5] Birth was said to occur with the gods favorable or with them unfavorable,[6] and those who uttered ill-omened words before a birth were deemed to deserve punishment.[7] Places of birth might be of good or ill omen.[8]

It is indicated in several passages that children were presented on their birthdays[9] with a gift, such as a *bulla*, or a ring of silver or of gold,[10] and when grown to young manhood and womanhood they themselves continued the celebrations with dinings.[11] Brothers remembered their sisters with gift rings on their birthdays.[12]

In the comedies of Plautus abortion is not represented as having been practised, but it is so mentioned as to imply that frequent resort was had to it by courtesans.[13]

Names were given to children indicative of character or of circumstances of birth or life.[14] The name of a favorite child that was

[1] *Truc.* 399; 497; *Amph.* 499 sqq.; 668 sqq., 723 sq.; 1098 sqq.; 1102 sqq.; 1107; *Pseud.* 1177.

[2] *Capt.* 629.

[3] *Aul.* 691 sq.

[4] *Amph.* 1091 sqq.

[5] *Ibid.* 1124 sqq.

[6] *Mil.* 314.

[7] *Amph.* 719 sqq.

[8] *Pers.* 630.

[9] *Rud.* 1171; *Curc.* 612.

[10] *Epid.* 639 sq.

[11] *Pers.* 769.

[12] *Curc.* 653 sqq.

[13] *Truc.* 200 sq.; 397 sqq.

[14] *Stich.* 174 sqq.; *Trin.* 495; *Capt.* 285 sqq.; *Aul.* 163; *Men.* 77.

*For a detailed account of the circumstances, natural and supernatural, attending the birth of Hercules, as represented by Plautus, *see Amph.* 1091 sqq.

stolen was given to a younger brother that the name might be perpetuated in the family.[15] Comic effects were sought by change of name to another name, sometimes of similar sound but of ridiculous import.[16] The names of free children sold into slavery,[17] and of girls on becoming courtesans, were changed.[18] Names were said to be of good or of bad omen.[19] The reference to the *quinto die* is Greek.[20]

The Exposure of Children

In the dramatic use which Plautus made of the exposure of children he never represented such exposure as eventuating in their death. He never represented a legitimate child as being exposed. Although much of the Plautine material portraying child life deals with exposure and substitution, the fragments of the Greek New Comedy, as edited by Kock (1884–1888), present exceedingly little. But the recently found plays and fragments give much on these subjects.

The actual exposing of a child usually appears in the dramas as done before the play opens by a servant,[21] who became a very important person in the plot by reason of the knowledge which he had of the disposition of the child.[22] Night or twilight[23] was chosen as the best time for such exposure and the place was frequently a city street or a public place.[24] Exposure is not to be considered the equivalent of abandonment, for the person exposing was represented as remaining and watching to see who would take up the child and to see whither it would be taken.[25] A person picking up a child was occasionally represented as giving it to another.[26] Thus it was possible for as many as four persons in succession to have the custody of a child. Children exposed and reared even by courtesans were sometimes kept chastely.[27] As represented in Plautine drama, more girls were exposed than boys. There is an apologetic attitude[28] with reference to exposure.

[15] *Men.* 40 sqq.; 1127.
[16] *Bacch.* 361 sq.; *Stich.* 630 sqq.; *Capt.* 726.
[17] *Capt.* 983 sq.
[18] *Poen.* 1138 sq.
[19] *Pers.* 623 sqq.
[20] *Truc.* 424.
[21] *Cist.* 166.
[22] *Ibid.* 162 sqq.
[23] *Cas.* 39 sqq.
[24] *Cist.* 123 sq.; 549.
[25] *Ibid.* 168; 547 sq.
[26] *Cas.* 39 sqq.; *Cist.* 143 sqq.
[27] *Cist.* 171; 570 sq.
[28] *Ibid.* 164; *Sandys*, p. 176.

The reclaiming of children is represented in Plautus as easily effected, and no mention is made of payment by parents of costs of nurture before regaining possession even when those who had cared for the child were unwilling to lose it.[29] There was felt to be a clear distinction between the rights of the parent of a child and of the one rearing it after exposure.[30] So far as possession was concerned the rearing of a child gave no rights. The finding and reclaiming of an exposed child naturally were attempted if the father and mother subsequently were married.[31] There was of course no little difficulty in tracing a child exposed some years previously.[32] The means of identification were frequently trinkets or marks upon the body.[33]

Substitution

Exposed children, as seen in Plautus, were most frequently carried eventually into the homes of courtesans. These women, wishing to fleece their lovers,[34] kept female agents on the alert for exposed children. When a courtesan got possession of such a child it was an easy matter for her to claim that she had become a mother.[35] Her lover was sent for that he might see his purported offspring and provide for it. So lucrative was this form of deception that it became common and gave rise to the epithet *suppostrix puerum*.[36] If children had been exposed and it was desired to regain them immediately, one of the first places in which to attempt to find them was the resort of a courtesan.[37] With extreme license of humor such a recovered child is represented, even amid the joy of finding it, as immediately loaned for a few days to serve the purpose of a mistress who would deceive her lover and secure money from him.[38] Circumstances[39] connected with a childbirth were represented in detail, including usual symptoms, congratulations, and religious exercises

[29] *Cist.* 631 sqq.; *Truc.* 846 sq.

[30] *Cist.* 718; 762 sq.

[31] *Ibid.* 616 sqq.; 180; 779; *Truc.* 846 sqq.; 857.

[32] *Cist.* 550 sq.; 556 sqq.; *Truc.* 798 sqq.; 839.

[33] *Cist.* 635 sqq.; 655-670; 713-759; 767.

[34] *Ibid.* 133 sqq.; 139 sq.; *Truc.* 18 sq.; 401 sqq.; 856 sq.

[35] *Truc.* 460 sq.; 397 sqq.

[36] *Ibid.* 763.

[37] *Ibid.* 798 sqq.

[38] *Ibid.* 872 sqq.

[39] *Ibid.* 195 sqq.; 384; 413 sqq.; 448; 463 sq.; 478 sq.; 518; 525 sqq.; 576; 632 sq.; 640 sq.

duly performed in honor of Juno *Lucina*, washing of hands, and offering of flowers and of incense.[40] The supposititious child was a stock subject in comedy and its presentation was, as Plautus himself says, not conducive to morality.[41]

The Stealing of Children

Plautus represents children as being stolen occasionally by slaves[42] running away from their masters and by unknown persons.[43] The latter were sometimes wealthy traders and the children were frequently taken from wealthy homes. Usually the purpose was the sordid one of gain.[44] A case is given where a man of means rescued or stole a boy seven years old and reared him, finally making him his heir.[45] The scene of a kidnapping was generally a coast town, and religious celebrations, with their throngs and confusion, afforded favorable opportunity. Haste characterized the ordinary child theft and there was generally an immediate disposition of a stolen child to a sailor-merchant who was leaving port and who intended to re-sell the child at his destination.[46] Across the sea there was less chance that the parent would find and claim it.[47] But if a child was found, recovery was easy and usually little attempt was made to keep possession.[48] There was rather an eagerness to be quit of the transaction.[49] Children are represented as being stolen at tender ages[50] and the sale price varied greatly, those born of good families bringing high prices. Sometimes, when the child was discovered and claimed, the buyer of a stolen child recovered the price he had paid.[51] At other times the sale was at the buyer's risk.[52] A moral callousness characterized the men represented as stealing children.[53]

[40] *Truc.* 423; 476; 480 sq.

[41] *Capt.* 1029 sqq.

[42] *Ibid.* 759 sqq.; 951; 972; 978; 1010; 1018.

[43] *Men.* 29 sqq.; 45; 59; *Poen.* 59 sqq.

[44] *Capt.* 989.

[45] *Men.* 58 sqq.; 31; *Legr.*, p. 200.

[46] *Pers.* 135 sqq.; 576 sqq.

[47] *Rud.* 40 sq.; *Poen.* 87 sqq.; *Capt.* 759 sqq.

[48] *Poen.* 1232; 1239 sq.; 1247; *Pers.* 745 sqq.

[49] *Poen.* 1346 sqq.; 1392 sqq.; *Rud.* 1365 sq.

[50] *Capt.* 8; 978 sqq.; 1011 sqq.; cf. *Pers.* 437 sqq.; *Poen.* 65; *Rud.* 742; 39; 44 sq.; *Capt.* 972 sq.; *Pers.* 592-651; *Poen.* 1104.

[51] *Curc.* 490 sqq.; 666 sqq.

[52] *Poen.* 1377 sq.; 1392 sq.; *Pers.* 588 sqq.

[53] *Pseud.* 341 sqq.; *Pers.* 665 sq.; Frag. *Lenones Gemini*, 89; *Curc.* 520; 528 sqq.

The search for a lost child continued for years[54] in some cases and all foreign ports were visited whither there was a possibility of the child having been carried.[55] Racial ties helped in recovery.[56] In the case of stolen girls a systematic search of the establishments of courtesans was made in the cities visited.[57] A dealer in stolen girls was called *feles virginalis*, and again, *feles virginaria*.[58]

Long lost children are represented as discovered and identified frequently by having in their possession trinkets quickly recognized by friends searching for the children. These trinkets consisted of toys in the shape of animals or of instruments of different metals and variously ornamented.[59] A ring often led to discovery.[60] In the case of one child the scar from a monkey's bite on the left hand completed the identification.[61]

When a child had been found the recovery was celebrated with sacrificial rites in the home, to aid in which a harpist is mentioned as having been hired.[62] Fictitious kidnapping occurred, the object being to defraud the buyer.[63] Stolen children were often treated as kindly as the master's family into which they had been sold[64] and girls were kept chastely even by procurers.[65]

In Plautus child-theft occupies a very considerable part of the material dealing with child life.

War and Children

In a few passages Plautus represents children as the victims of conquest and carried off, sometimes in large numbers, as booty.[66] Girls, especially if beautiful, were objects of purchase from their captors.[67] The ransom of mature sons was at times put at such a high figure as to ruin a father financially.[68] A father is spoken of who

[54] *Men.* 234; 1132.

[55] *Ibid.* 236 sqq.; *Poen.* 104 sqq.; cf. *Men.* 69.

[56] *Poen.* 905 sq.; 961; 1035; 1053.

[57] *Ibid.* 104 sqq.; cf. *Curc.* 517; cf. 697 sqq.

[58] *Rud.* 748; *Pers.* 751.

[59] *Rud.* 389 sqq.; 1081 sq.; 1109 sq.; 1153-1171; Frag., Dubia et Suspecta, V; *Cist.* 655 sqq.; 690 sqq.; 745 sqq.

[60] *Curc.* 595 sqq.; 602 sqq.; 629 sqq.; 653 sqq.

[61] *Poen.* 1072 sqq.

[62] *Rud.* 1206 sqq.; *Epid.* 414 sqq.; 500 sq.; *Pers.* 445 sqq.; *Poen.* 1253 sqq.

[63] *Pers.* 147 sqq.

[64] *Capt.* 272 sq.; 990 sqq.; *Curc.* 517 sqq.; 697 sq.

[65] *Poen.* 95-103.

[66] *Epid.* 210 sqq.; 529 sqq.

[67] *Ibid.* 43 sq.

[68] *Capt.* 319 sqq.

risked the infamy of being a slave dealer in order to buy captive young men whom he hoped to exchange for his son, who was likewise a war prisoner.[69] Sometimes parents bought back their captive children on discovering them[70] and, at other times, they were fortunate enough to do it unwittingly, learning the truth later.[71] Recovery of a son was signalized by expressions of gratitude to the gods.[72]

[69] *Capt.* 27 sqq.; 98 sqq.; 330 sqq.; 365 sqq.

[70] *Ibid.* 319 sqq.

[71] *Ibid.* 5; 9; 21; 42; 49 sq.

[72] *Ibid.* 922.

CHAPTER III

Teachers and Education

In addition to the father and the mother, the nurse appears in Plautus as the earliest and constant attendant of the child and from her it received by association much practical information and advice.[1] It was hers to cherish.[2] The nurse was not without her faults, having frequently a weakness for wine.[3] The mother is represented as being nearer to the children than the father in her care for them.[4] The father gave his sons a philosophy of conduct and lessons in practical life. There is doubt as to whether or not boys and girls were educated together.[5]

A male teacher, called both *paedagogus* and *magister*[6] gave formal instruction to the boys in the home.[7] The teaching was done under the eye of the father and subject to his criticism and interference on behalf of the child.[8] Boys remained under the instruction and guardianship of the *paedagogus* until full-grown and ready for public service.[9] The *paedagogus* is represented as esteemed for his learning almost above the philosophers by his admiring pupils.[10] The truth is, however, that neither the Greek nor the Roman *paedagogus* was a suitable person for the duties imposed upon him.

Reading[11] was taught with exactness as was also writing.[12] The *stylus*, wax, cord, and tablet were parts of the equipment. The writing is represented as done at times rapidly, illegibly, in small character, and from dictation. Letters were delivered by messengers and were sealed. A salutation regularly opened a letter. Clandestine correspondence by young sons is represented as common.[13]

[1] *Poen.* 28 sqq.; 83 sqq.; cf. *Mil.* 698 sq.
[2] *Poen.* 1122.
[3] *Ibid.* 28 sqq.
[4] *Rud.* 1179 sqq.; *Sandys*, p. 227.
[5] *Trin.* 323; 339; 343; 363; *Sandys*, p. 226; *Merc.* 70 sq.; *Sandys*, p. 184.
[6] *Bacch.* 432; 444.
[7] *Ibid.* 431 sqq.
[8] *Ibid.* 444 sqq.
[9] *Ibid.* 438 sq.
[10] *Ibid.* 122. *See* D.-S., article *Paedagogus*.
[11] *Bacch.* 433 sqq.
[12] *Pseud.* 31; 401; 542 sqq.; *Bacch.* 728 sqq.
[13] *Bacch.* 388 sqq.; 561 sq.

The theatres and public celebrations were important sources of knowledge for children who were taken there by parents or nurses.[14] Plautus represents grown persons as remembering plays seen in childhood.[15]

The heart of the *paedagogus* is pictured as sinking within him on account of the growing decay of the old and severer discipline. Rigid but impartial, it had kept teacher and pupil alike to the ways of an approved orderliness and effectiveness.[16] But a new social era had ushered in a laxer life and a greater indifference of youth to the opinions of their seniors. The prestige of the old *paedagogus* was a thing of the past.[17] In "the good old days" failure to learn a lesson would have been severely punished,[18] as indicating sloth, even as would a dereliction in behavior. It was so no longer.[19]

Physical education received very great attention. A son speaking of his boyhood and youth when under his father's guidance mentions, among other sports and games, the throwing of the *discus* and javelin and racing on foot and on horseback in which he took great pleasure.[20] Boxing[21] and swimming[22] were common sports. Gambling, the stake in one case mentioned being a finger ring, frequently beguiled a son's idle hours.[23] Mention might be made in this connection that monkeys and various birds were among the child's playthings.[24]

Because the cook of Greek New Comedy and of Latin Comedy took himself seriously, considering himself a professional man and his art one requiring a long training, brief mention will be made of his skill as represented in Plautus.

The *Pseudolus* is the only Latin play in which the cook takes a part of any importance. He does not appear in Terence.[25] One of this class tells that he is able to demand twice as much as other cooks for his services because of his extraordinary skill.[26] The pleasant savor of his dishes was a banquet for Jupiter himself. If a day

[14] *Poen.* 28 sq.; *Cist.* 89 sqq.
[15] *Cas.* 10 sqq.
[16] *Bacch.* 424 sqq.
[17] *Ibid.* 444 sqq.
[18] *Ibid.* 425; 433 sqq.; cf. *Pseud.* 783.
[19] *Merc.* 61; *Bacch.* 440 sq.
[20] *Most.* 149 sqq.; *Bacch.* 428 sqq.; *Stich.* 306; *Asin.* 708.
[21] Cf. *Rud.* 728 sq.
[22] *Aul.* 595.
[23] *Curc.* 606 sqq.; 628 sqq.
[24] *Poen.* 1072 sqq.; *Capt.* 1002.
[25] Legr., p. 98. *See* H., pp. 19-21.
[26] *Pseud.* 808-809; cf. H., pp. 51-52.

passed when he was not engaged to prepare a feast, that night Jupiter slept dinnerless.[27] The cook assumed the dignity of a master of dietetics,[28] and those who ate his scientifically prepared viands lived to the age of two hundred years.[29] His honesty was not above suspicion. He was watched and he expected to be watched.[30] A small theft was cause for thanks rather than for grief.[31]

[27] *Pseud.* 840-846. *See* H., p. 39, for cooks as braggarts; cf. *Aul.* 280, *Merc.* 697.

[28] *Pseud.* 822-825.

[29] *Ibid.* 826-830.

[30] *Ibid.* 850-854; cf. 790 sqq.

[31] *Ibid.* 956-957.

CHAPTER IV

Business and Guardianship

Young sons[1] are represented in Plautus as being taken to sea by their fathers in pursuit of gain and, when of sufficient age, as being given ships with which to trade, while trusted servants were sent to accompany them.[2] Sons went from the farm[3] to this more adventurous and more lucrative life. Poverty was so greatly dreaded that slavery or death was said, though with exaggeration, to be preferred to it.[4]

Sons might represent their fathers in business dealings, collecting debts for them. Fathers and sons had their own individual seals[5] for indentification of writings. The forging of seals was practised.[6] Sons were minors, as represented in Plautus, until twenty-five years of age and contracts with minors were void nor could loans be legally made to them[7] (*lex quinavicenaria, lex Laetoria*). Instances are given where such loans were publicly forbidden.[8] Slaves were given to sons by their fathers to be their attendants in childhood and in youth.[9]

Sons inherited the property of their fathers and of their mothers and, if there were no children known to be alive, the nearest surviving relatives became the heirs.[10] If sons were found later, the property was made over to them.[11] There is a humorous reference to the heavy burdens laid on inheritances when a windfall of good news is called *sine sacris hereditas*.[12] The household *Lar* is represented as

[1] *Men.* 24 sqq.; *Trin.* 824-839; cf. 1087 sqq.

[2] *Merc.* 88 sqq.; cf. 191 sqq.; Sandys, pp. 417-418.

[3] *Merc.* 73 sq.

[4] Frag. *Vidularia* XV (III); *Capt.* 321 sqq.

[5] *Truc.* 645 sq.; *Bacch.* 249 sq.; 259 sqq.; *Curc.* 424; *Bacch.* 269 sqq.; 318 sq.; cf. 335; 325 sqq.; *Curc.* 549 sqq.

[6] *Bacch.* 265 sq.; *Trin.* 789 sqq.

[7] *Pseud.* 301 sqq.; cf. *Rud.* 1380; cf. *Pseud.* 286; Sandys, p. 307; Roby, *Roman Private Law*, Vol. I, Book II, pp. 123-124.

[8] *Pseud.* 504; cf. *Merc.* 51.

[9] *Epid.* 486 sq.; cf. *Capt.* 19; 981 sq.; 987; 1010.

[10] *Truc.* 62; 68 sqq.; *Asin.* 528 sq.; *Curc.* 636 sqq.

[11] *Poen.* 1080 sqq.

[12] *Capt.* 775.

preserving the family estate through successive generations and, on the other hand, it was common for a son speedily to squander with courtesans his inheritance.[13]

Guardians[14] were appointed by fathers over their families and property when they were about to go to a distance on trade voyages. The guardian during such absence, acting for the father, might give daughters in marriage.[15] Sons were frequently troublesome and attempted to outwit those in temporary charge of them in order to get money to spend on pleasure.[16] On the other hand the public was quick to suspect guardians of using trust funds or property for their own purposes.[17] The wives, also, of merchant sailors are represented as caring for property and business interests during the absence of their husbands.[18]

[13] *Aul.* 3 sqq.; *Asin.* 528 sq.

[14] *Trin.* 876 sq.; cf. 1110; cf. 1125. *See* Roby, *Roman Private Law*, Vol. I, Books II and III, on guardianship and inheritance.

[15] *Trin.* 110 sqq.; 157 sqq.

[16] *Ibid.* 163 sqq.

[17] *Ibid.* 737 sqq.

[18] *Stich.* 525 sq.; *Amph.* 499.

CHAPTER V

Family Affection

Plautus represents the fathers in his comedies as having intense love for their children. A bachelor refrained from marriage, according to Plautus, not merely from the increased financial expense but because he was unwilling to pay the necessary price in worry over children,[1] for a father's love toward his offspring was not an individual trait but was universal and without exception.[2] An "only son" was a most tender tie.[3] The loss of such a one threw one father into a fever that cost him his life.[4] Family reunions were eagerly anticipated and the joy of meeting[5] of father and long-lost daughters is represented as a subject for art, and painters of less skill than Apelles or Zeuxis were unequal to the task.[6] A father is represented as making a call at the home of his married daughters[7] and every possible manifestation of endearment was made by them toward him both in word and in kind offices but, in the instance mentioned, the daughters had unusually cogent reasons, for he was determined to take them away from their neglectful husbands.

The mother,[8] too, appears as the recipient of tokens of affection from her daughters acting on suggestion from the father. The most extravagant praise[9] that could be bestowed on a mistress was a lover's declaration that his love for her was greater than for his mother. The mother was the son's confidante.[10] To her daughters, the sun had never shone on her like.[11] Kindly intimacy between children and parents is indirectly shown in the frequent repetition[12]

[1] *Mil.* 700; 718 sqq.

[2] *Capt.* 398 sqq.; *Bacch.* 1109 sqq.; cf. *Bacch.* 777 sqq.; cf. *Amph.* 649 sq.

[3] *Capt.* 146 sq.; 150; *Cas.* 262 sqq.

[4] *Poen.* 64 sqq.; cf. *Men.* 34 sqq.; cf. feigned distress of parasite, *Capt.* 133 sqq.; 928.

[5] *Poen.* 1259 sqq.; cf. 1129; *Bacch.* 235 sqq.; *Most.* 928 sqq.; cf. *Rud.* 1202 sqq.; cf. *Epid.* 641 sqq.

[6] *Poen.* 1271.

[7] *Stich.* 90 sqq.

[8] *Epid.* 568 sqq.

[9] *Truc.* 660 sqq.

[10] *Aul.* 682 sqq.

[11] *Stich.* 109 sqq.

[12] *Aul.* 682 sqq.

of *pater* and of *mater* in letters and in conversation. Parents and liberty were the most precious of all possessions.[13]

The stepmother was a symbol of hard-heartedness.[14] No cruel stepmother, however, is represented.

Brothers and sisters[15] appear in Plautus as mutually helpful at important crises and as showing formal courtesies on occasion one to another.[16] A very great secret was a "confidence between sisters,"[17] and no relation was nearer than that of sister to sister.[18] A brother "searched the world" for a lost brother.[19]

Interest in mutual family relations is shown by the titles of several of the plays of Plautus: *Bacchides*, *Lenones Gemini*, *Menaechmi*, *Trigemini* and *Cistellaria*.

Lack of affection is shown only in a small number of instances. A miser did not disclose to his son his treasure even when his earthly needs were over and his last hour had come.[20] A man is represented as showing lack of fine feeling toward his wife, not without reason, it is true, when she was rejoicing over the safety of their daughter who had been in peril at sea.[21] He had previously shown indifference to the possible loss of life by shipwreck.[22] A son gently reproved his father for referring slightingly to his mother.[23]

From the very nature of comedy it is not to be expected that family life would be represented by it in its more regular and pacific phases. In both the Latin plays and the Greek fragments domestic misunderstanding and discontent underlie by far the greater number of plots.[24] It is the sons, rather than the daughters, who are in conflict with the father. As a rule, sons and daughters are in accord with the mother, though exceptions occur.[25] Sons, as they are represented, cannot be said to be bad in their conduct toward their fathers. In language they are generally courteous and whatever unfilial acts

[13] *Capt.* 625 sq.

[14] *Pseud.* 313 sq. No term of endearment is used in *C. I. L.* VI, with *noverca*, (Harr., p. 59).

[15] *Aul.* 120 sqq.; 127 sqq.

[16] *Curc.* 660.

[17] *Truc.* 438.

[18] *Cist.* 3.

[19] *Men.* 1133 sq. *See* Harr., pp. 59-77, for a comparative statement of the application of terms of endearment to the various members of the family, in *C. I. L.* VI.

[20] *Aul.* 9 sqq.

[21] *Rud.* 1202 sqq.

[22] *Ibid.* 162 sqq.; 177.

[23] *Asin.* 894 sqq.

[24] Legr., pp. 117-118; p. 458.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127; p. 129.

they are guilty of are usually performed indirectly through the medium of others. A son is never represented as acting in an unfilial manner in the presence of his father.[26] Legrand suggests that at this period love may have become a quasi-religion with young men and that obedience to its claims may have outweighed obedience to a father.[27]

The father of married daughters is represented as having precedence according to law over their husbands[28] but a husband had precedence in domestic matters over a wife's brother.[29] Daughters were very respectful in address to their mother.[30] The words *pater* and *mater*,[31] when found together in phrases, occur in no set order that would indicate a conscious or unconscious recognition of propriety in having the word *pater* precede the word *mater*. This apparent equality of the words as to relative position conforms in a general way to the spirit represented as permeating family life in Plautus. No evil was greater than the striking of father or mother.[32] Such an act was madness.[33]

[26] *Legr.*, pp. 136-138.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 456-457.
[28] *Stich.* 96 sqq.
[29] *Trin.* 695 sqq.
[30] *Asin.* 535; 544; 147 sqq.
[31] *Poen.* 1062; 1065; *Capt.* 389 sq.; 549. Cf. Harr., p. 56, for a similar arrangement in inscriptions.
[32] *Pseud.* 367; *Men.* 944.
[33] *Capt.* 549.

CHAPTER VI

Adolescence and Morals

The father's criterion for the son's conduct, as seen in Plautus, was not an abstract code of moral perfection, but was rather his own conduct in youth.[1] "Nothing in excess." A moderate adherence to virtue was all that was expected; a moderate indulgence in vice, all that was tolerated. Severe criticism of youth by old men was felt to be foolish. To see once more their own mottled youth "as in a mirror" was advised and accepted as a relief for paternal anxiety.[2] When sons did wrong, comfort came from the thought that they might have done worse,[3] and complacency was fortified by the conviction that the attempt to put an old head on young shoulders was not only vain but, by alienating his sons, made ready for a father's old age a severer winter.[4] Plautus represents "gentle rage as the greater wisdom,"[5] for the marvel was not that a son sinned but rather that he did not. Had not the father in his youth lapsed in like fashion?[6] When a son's conduct was exemplary, he was commended as taking his virtuous father for a model; when it was reckless and voluptuous, he was excused by himself and his friends as suffering the effects of hereditary moral taint.[7] Like father, like son; but some fathers approached, in Plautus, the zenith, others the nadir, of morality, and the sons of both sorts followed closely the parental lead. Again, a father is represented as anxious that his son be worthy and "line upon line" was reinforced at times with stormy denunciation[8] and even with threats of disowning.[9] The aid of lifelong acquaintances and of those of supposedly "good influence" was invoked to win back prodigals.[10]

[1] *Bacch.* 1079 sq.; 418; *Pseud.* 436 sqq.

[2] *Epid.* 382 sqq.; *Bacch.* 1079 sqq.; cf. *Asin.* 851 sqq.

[3] *Trin.* 392 sq.

[4] *Ibid.* 394 sqq.

[5] *Bacch.* 408.

[6] *Ibid.* 409 sq.; cf. 416; cf. 494.

[7] *Pseud.* 440 sqq.; *Asin.* 73; 932 sqq.; *Capt.* 107; *Bacch.* 1207 sqq.

[8] *Merc.* 46; 49 sq.; *Asin.* 49 sq.

[9] *Merc.* 50. Cf., however, Sandys, p. 311, on the limitations of a father's powers in the disposition of his property by will.

[10] *Bacch.* 495 sqq.; cf. 1084 sqq.; 910 sqq.; 1019 sqq.

The *paedogogus* gave much direct moral instruction and, in this respect, was almost on a plane with the father.[11] In fact the moral activities of the *paedagogus* were often directed toward the father's reformation as a first step in the rehabilitation of the son.[12] Plautus represents the *paedagogus* as loyal to the father and deaf to the son's appeals to aid in circumventing the father's will or obtaining his goal by deception.[13] As the actual street companion of a son the *paedagogus* was practical in his moral campaign of prevention, and the discovery of the futility of this well-meant surveillance caused him keenest grief.[14] The passing of years carried a youth beyond submission to the control of a *paedagogus*.[15]

Slaves belonging to the household gave ready and unscrupulous aid to the plans of sons in their love affairs and were their allies in hoodwinking the father while the sons were making successful incursion into his money chest,[16] a thing that was done frequently and sometimes with ruinous effects.[17] The character of slaves, however, is probably painted in darker colors than their actual conduct in life warrants and for the reason that the poet desired to relieve the character of youthful citizens from the odium of actions not befitting their social position.[18]

Ideals for young men appear in a few comedies. A son who had high ideals but little will power, in an hour of moral clarity, tells of his supposedly virtuous father, how in his boyhood on the farm one holiday in every five years was all that he was allowed by him, and how steady, grimy toil filled the day, every stroke assuring future comfort![19] Again, a son is represented as debating his future career and as deciding on a life of energetic action and one of which the reward would be property, confidence, distinction, fame and gratitude. The die was cast and it was against softness and love.[20] Evil associations of the street and market-place were advised against by the father.[21] The reiteration of warnings reminded of a "patched

[11] *Bacch.* 163 sqq.

[12] *Ibid.* 411 sqq.; 463 sq.; 418 sq.; *Asin.* 873 sqq.; *Bacch.* 1190 sqq.; 1076; 1080.

[13] *Bacch.* 375 sqq.; 403 sq.; 382 sq.

[14] *Ibid.* 109 sqq.; 124; 132 sqq.

[15] *Ibid.* 127; 135 sqq.; 148; 158 sqq.; 379 sqq.

[16] *Pseud.* 286 sqq.; 445 sqq.; *Bacch.* 351 sqq.; 521 sqq.; *Most.* 981; 610 sqq.

[17] *Merc.* 53 sqq.; cf. 46; *Trin.* 13; 108 sqq.

[18] Legr., pp. 216-217.

[19] *Merc.*, 61-72; cf. G.-H., 66.

[20] *Trin.* 223 sqq.; 270 sqq.; 650 sq.

[21] *Ibid.* 281 sqq.

roof."[22] The "old paths," which the father had followed, had led safely.[23] The absence in the son of self-control would mean, in life's issues, defeat; its presence, victory.[24]

The virtues and vices usually associated with youth were the subject of many a homily by parents to children. Truthfulness in speaking to parents was imperative.[25] The virtue of wife, widow, and maiden of free-birth was protected by public sentiment, but those who were not of free birth had no such moral shelter.[26] Courtesans were to be avoided and all clandestine love was sheer loss.[27] Yet sons indulged in love and intemperance with the connivance of their fathers.[28] The consistent avoidance of evil associations, night strolling, defrauding of others, and causing worry to his father is portrayed as the practical creed of a youth who sought to live an exemplary life through self-restraint.[29]

In one instance where paternal authority was weak, and where a father proved negligent, control of the son is represented as taken over and administered with a firm hand by his mother.[30] One father is pictured as having sold his birthright as moral guide to his children for the pottage of an immature son's perverted esteem, but, when the son was older and wiser grown, the father suffered his contempt.[31] A son's appeal often was directed to his father's feelings, not to his judgment,[32] yet when his presumption passed limits one son found that there still existed the rights as well as the hearts of fathers.[33] The parasite, so familiar in comedy, was retained frequently as a son's counsel by silver favors to aid and abet his wily schemes against his father, nor did the aid of household slaves go unrewarded,[34] for gracious reciprocities occurred between master and slave.[35] The balance of power in the home shifted as father and son opposed the mother or as the father found himself at war against mother and son.[36] In a love affair in which a father and son were rivals, the

[22] *Trin.* 317; 287; cf. C., *Sam.* 390 sq.
[23] *Trin.* 295 sqq.
[24] *Ibid.* 308 sq.
[25] *Aul.* 690; *Merc.* 208 sq.
[26] *Curc.* 37 sq.; *Epid.* 398 sqq.
[27] *Curc.* 28 sqq.; 39 sq.; 49.
[28] *Most.* 1162 sqq.
[29] *Trin.* 313 sqq.
[30] *Asin.* 78 sq.
[31] *Ibid.* 66-77; 80 sq.
[32] *Trin.* 357 sq.; *Capt.* 937; *Asin.* 80 sq.
[33] *Cas.* 262 sqq.
[34] *Capt.* 105 sq.
[35] *Ibid.* 245 sqq.
[36] *Asin.* 75; 824 sqq.; *Cas.* 47 sqq.; 58 sqq.

father is represented as invoking his paternal rights to send his son into the country and thus eliminate him as a rival.[37] In the case of a son who was in love with a slave girl the father attempted to end the affair by purchasing the girl and sending her away from the city.[38]

The *pietas* conception was used by Plautus as a base on which to build a most extravagantly humorous situation. A father and his son were enamoured of the same mistress and the father, while his son's guest at a dinner, anticipated him by asking for the son's favorite as his companion. As the dinner proceeded, by way of continuing and veneering the tantalizing cruelty, he preached to the son a deliciously timely sermon on the renunciatory element in *pietas* and, with a sophistical confusion of the spirit and the letter of things human, slowly coached the son into "looking pleasant," whereupon, with almost incredible immediateness—so marvelous is the force of *pietas* in hearts loyal the one to the other!—the tears of fond desire fled in mist before the radiant smile born of filial duty.[39]

Pietas is also represented in its best and most serious sense. *Pietas* was invoked in exclamations of joyous surprise linked with the idea of rescue.[40] The prayer of the *pius* availed more than that of the *scelestus*.[41] If *pietas* had been one's rule of life the gods gave aid in time of distress, and doubly so if it had been the rule also of one's parents.[42] *Pietas* of parents and child made all end well to all, in the recovery of a child, lost since infancy, from slavery.[43] A cousin's *pietas* brought about the recovery of two daughters long sought by their parents from over the sea.[44] The same good fortune was attributed to the father's *pietas*.[45] *Pietas* forbade deception of a father by deed or word.[46] *Pietas* of a daughter toward her mother, who was a *meretrix*, was expressed by obedience to her mother's uncongenial injunctions.[47] To beat one's father or mother was to reach the climax of evil.[48] As has already been suggested, he who lifted hands against parents was mad.[49]

[37] *Cas.* 60 sqq.; cf. *Cist.* 225 sqq.
[38] *Epid.* 267-283.
[39] *Asin.* 828-841.
[40] *Curc.* 639 sq.
[41] Cf. *Rud.* 197a sq.
[42] *Rud.* 189 sqq.; 197 sq.
[43] *Ibid.* 1176.
[44] *Poen.* 1137.
[45] *Ibid.* 1276.
[46] *Pseud.* 290 sqq.; *Merc.* 208 sq., *Aul.* 690.
[47] *Asin.* 506 sqq.
[48] *Pseud.* 367; *Men.* 944.
[49] *Capt.* 549.

Obedience was firmly implanted in the mind of the son when young.[50] Obedience was not felt to be inconsistent with the integrity of manhood when a boy had come to mature years, nor as unbecoming high birth.[51] Obedience was not only implicit but cheerful.[52] Daughters submitted their wills to those of father or mother in matters of marriage, and, even in matters of right and wrong, the parent's will had precedence over morality.[53] A daughter permitted herself to be the subject of a fictitious sale, yielding to the will of a father who bolstered his sordid coarseness by sophistries about parental authority.[54] But as Plautus painted domestic life, the age of strict obedience was surely passing; had passed.[55]

Changes in moral character were recognized as coming with adolescence.[56] In childhood character had been built up by the teaching of others.[57] As childhood was outgrown, the young man asserted himself and for the worse.[58] Youth was the time to pay homage to Venus,[59] and her worship, in secret and without the father's knowledge, was a stock theme in comedy. Fathers had this anxiety in common. However, indulgence in unnatural forms of love was condemned by public opinion.[60]

The departure of sons from strict social virtue was felt to be normal and inevitable.[61] It was, however, usually only temporary.[62] Attempts at reformation were well worth while and likely to succeed,[63] for young men confronted with their misdeeds acknowledged that they had brought disgrace[64] upon their families.[65] In the battle against love and leisure, they said, they had been worsted. They knew the right but were unable to do it.[66] Confession often followed censure.[67] Sometimes confession was fictitious, a likely bait to catch the father's sympathy and secure further and wider license. Tears, silence and standing submissively before him flattered the father

[50] *Trin.* 301 sqq.
[51] *Ibid.* 303.
[52] *Amph.* 991 sqq.; 1004; *Asin.* 828-841.
[53] *Asin.* 504-518; 542 sqq.; *Cist.* 46-51.
[54] *Pers.* 336-398.
[55] *Trin.* 1028 sqq.
[56] *Most.* 30 sqq.
[57] *Ibid.* 90-156.
[58] *Ibid.* 135 sqq.
[59] *Bacch.* 1164 sq.; *Asin.* 812 sqq.; *Pers.* 229 sqq.
[60] *Capt.* 1032; *Curc.* 37 sq.
[61] *Most.* 1155 sq.; cf. 1138.
[62] *Trin.* 1182 sq.; 1187.
[63] *Ibid.* 116 sqq.; *Merc.* 79 sqq.
[64] *Bacch.* 381.
[65] *Ibid.* 380.
[66] *Trin.* 655 sqq.
[67] *Bacch.* 1015 sq.; cf. *Aul.* 790 sq.

but were a thin disguise to those who really knew.[68] It is represented that, as a rule, after the dark hour came the dawn.[69]

The favored of the gods, according to Plautus, died in the prime of youth.[70] Zeal toward the gods is represented as appearing and disappearing in any given family as generations passed.[71]

Religious festivals, such as those of Dionysus and of Ceres, gave opportunity for attacks upon women under cover of darkness. The excuses offered for these crimes were various and contradictory. In one instance the gods are blamed. Again, it is wine and youthful passion.[72] Chance acquaintances at these and other festivals had unfortunate moral results.[73]

[68] *Bacch.* 1007 sqq.; cf. 981 sqq.; *Most.* 1162 sqq.

[69] *Bacch.* 416 sqq.; Legr., p. 459.

[70] *Bacch.* 816 sq.

[71] *Aul.* 15-23.

[72] *Ibid.* 28-36; 791 sqq.; cf. 745; cf. *Truc.* 828; *Cist.* 156 sqq.; *Aul.* 737-742; *Cist.* 89 sqq.; cf. K. Men. 558; cf. *Curc.* 644 sqq.

[73] Cf. K., Men. 413.

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE

Plautus represents the marriage of children as one of the greatest anxieties of their parents and a suitable marriage as highly desirable,[1] giving some of the elements entering into it.

Ground for marriage was found in free birth, in kinship, in residence in the same city, in good social standing,[2] in an honorable family history,[3] in the recognized worth of near relatives,[4] in long acquaintance[5] and most of all in the suitable personal character of the parties to the union.[6] Character was a woman's sufficient dowry.[7] With the passing of youth a woman lost largely her opportunities of marriage.[8]

Bachelors of mature years apparently regarded marriage with nervousness, if not with fear. To suggest it was to "pelt them with stones."[9] The expense account loomed large. One of this class, rather selfishly, suggested that he would marry if he found a woman whose wants were simple and who would be willing to make him warm woolen clothing against the winter, but such a woman was not to be had. The married women of the day, before the cock crows, awake their husbands from sleep for money for the *praecantrix*, *coniectrix*, *hariola*, *haruspica*, *plicatrix*, *ceriaria*, *opstetrix*, *nutrix*— to name but a few of those angrily demanding overdue payment for services.[10] Why should a financially comfortable bachelor place himself in a position where he must listen to the barking of even an aristocratic, dowered wife?[11]

Most of the arguments on marriage hinge on its relation to wealth, and every phase of this subject is canvassed. The marriages of the wealthy always excited great popular interest, and wealth was always a strong factor in determining unions.[12] But Plautus

[1] *Trin.* 744 sqq.
[2] *Rud.* 1196 sqq.; *Trin.* 374 sqq.
[3] *Aul.* 777 sqq.; *Cist.* 100.
[4] *Aul.* 215 sqq.; 212 sqq.
[5] *Ibid.* 217 sqq.
[6] *Cas.* 81 sqq.
[7] *Aul.* 239; *Amph.* 839 sqq.
[8] Frag. *Parasitus Medicus* IV (103).
[9] *Aul.* 151-152.
[10] *Mil.* 685-700; cf. *Aul.* 167 sqq.
[11] *Mil.* 680-681.
[12] *Cist.* 600 sq.; 492 sqq.

represents love as the real ground for the marriage of a woman even to a man of wealth, and the subsequent loss of wealth by her husband did not weaken the marriage bond.[13] Nor was the poverty of a girl a bar to her selection as a wife by a rich man. Intermarriage of rich and poor was thought to be beneficial to society.[14] Yet the poor felt that caution ought to be observed with regard to the union of a rich family with a poor one because of the inability of the poor to keep up the financial pace set by the rich, and because a poor wife must needs be subservient to a rich husband.[15] And, if a divorce occurred, the poor family would be ostracized by both rich and poor.[16] Such unions were called "ox and ass" unions.[17] The rich had a habit of keeping or breaking a contract as best suited them.[18] For this reason social ambition in contracting marriage had its dangers for the poor.

Poverty prevented many men from placing their daughters in marriage as they would wish.[19] Then again, some men did not wish dowered wives because they were imperious,[20] or because wealth was not the most powerful attraction to them, even when their fathers desired such unions for them as sons.[21] But it was an economic triumph for a miser to marry off his daughter undowered while in his house there lay hidden his idolized pot of gold. "Without a dowry" was almost too good to believe.[22]

The common bond of humanity[23] was stronger than the force represented by difference of wealth,[24] though as a rule, rich married rich, and poor, poor. Even the rich were not exempt from the suspicion that they married, not the woman, but the money. An old miser is represented as suspicious that a rich suitor had become aware of the miser's wealth, and that his asking the hand of the daughter was in reality a grasping at the hidden treasure.[25] Among many observations on wealth and marriage is one to the effect that, while good omens were desirable, money was more potent in its

[13] *Stich.* 133 sqq.
[14] *Aul.* 172 sqq.; 475 sqq.
[15] *Ibid.* 204 sq.; 220 sqq.; 228 sqq.; *Trin.* 445 sqq.; cf. 507; 569 sqq.; 585; 689.
[16] *Aul.* 223-235.
[17] *Ibid.* 229.
[18] *Ibid.* 257 sqq.
[19] *Ibid.* 190 sqq.
[20] *Men.* 765 sqq.; *Most.* 703 sq.
[21] *Cist.* 492 sqq.
[22] *Aul.* 238 sqq.; 255 sq.; 258.
[23] *Trin.* 447; 490 sqq.
[24] *Cist.* 492 sqq.
[25] *Aul.* 265 sqq.; 194 sqq.

recommendation.[26] And, as a climax to the love of pelf among suitors, dowry would be "good money" if it could come wifeless.[27]

The law compelled a man to marry a free girl whom he had seduced.[28] Suspicion regarding a girl's character deprived her of opportunity of marriage.[29] The dowry was reduced[30] by the father when a man had wronged his daughter and later married her.

Second marriage by a father, even to a woman of mature age, is represented as not being favored. His children opposed, and he deferred to their wishes. Mothers-in-law, contrary to the adverse comments made about them as a class, reveal themselves where they appear, as in Terence, as full of kindness and of sympathy. A daughter-in-law is treated as an own daughter.[31]

Betrothal

Betrothal of a son could be effected by his father with, or without, the son's knowledge;[32] of a sister by a brother.[33] Marriage of a brother could be arranged for (*posco*) by a sister.[34] A guardian in the absence of the father betrothed a daughter.[35] The family *Lar* is represented as inspiring a betrothal for the daughter in a home.[36] Betrothal might be either formal, with set words, or informal,[37] and followed by marriage on the same day, but this was unusual enough to cause surprise.[38] A daughter's betrothal could be broken off by her father's sending notice to that effect.[39] Likewise, if a girl was found unchaste, a man could break his engagement to marry.[40] Betrothal was witnessed to, and thus made binding, and congratulations were offered. Among the Romans betrothal was not essential

[26] *Cas.* 85 sq.

[27] *Epid.* 180.

[28] *Aul.* 793 sq.; *Truc.* 821; 835; 840 sq.; cf. *Bacch.* 850 sqq.; cf. 865 sqq.; cf. 917 sq.

[29] *Pers.* 381 sqq.

[30] *Truc.* 841 sqq.

[31] *Epid.* 168 sqq.; Ter. *Hec.* 240 sqq.; 276 sqq.; 532 sqq.

[32] *Trin.* 570 sqq.; cf. 611; 442 sqq.; *Epid.* 267; 282 sq.; *Trin.* 1183 sq.

[33] *Trin.* 570; cf. *Cas.* 629-700 for a humorous situation and rebellion against proposed marriage. This, however, was a marriage of slaves.

[34] *Aul.* 158 sqq.

[35] *Trin.* 1156 sq.; 157 sqq.; Sandys, p. 177.

[36] *Aul.* 31 sq.

[37] *Trin.* 1157 sqq.; *Aul.* 241; 255 sq.

[38] *Aul.* 256 sqq.; 272.

[39] *Truc.* 848 sq.; Sandys, p. 177.

[40] *Aul.* 798 sq.; 782 sqq.

before marriage. Among the Greeks, it was.[41] Dowry could be settled at the time of betrothal.[42]

Marriage Ceremonies

Plautus presents a partial picture of a marriage ceremony and the preparations for it. It is unfortunate that the picture is one of marriage in a home where the life was abnormal. This robbed the occasion of many of its graces. The parties to the union were the daughter of a miser and a wealthy suitor. The father made purchase of flowers to propitiate the *Lar*. Father and bridegroom bathed[43] themselves preparatory to the marriage sacrifice and drank together in honor of the coming ceremony.[44] The miserly father did, indeed, as Plautus represents it, have the dishes hastily[45] washed for the occasion, but he begrudged the cost[46] of the most usual articles of food for his daughter's wedding dinner. Everything he would purchase was too dear.[47] "One must save on holidays, if he would not want on work days." The bridegroom therefore supplied deficiencies.[48] The miser's excessive economy was manifest in his unkempt[49] appearance at the marriage.[50]

[41] *Trin.* 578 sqq.; Sandys, p. 177.

[42] *Aul.* 258.

[43] *Ibid.* 579; 612 sq.

[44] *Ibid.* 569 sqq.

[45] *Ibid.* 269 sq.

[46] *Ibid.* 383 sqq.

[47] *Ibid.* 288 sqq.; 371 sqq.

[48] *Ibid.* 353; cf. *Curc.* 728.

[49] *Aul.* 539 sq.

[50] Several features of a marriage ceremony are described in the *Casina*, including the dinner and *convivium* on the following day (764 sqq.; 780 sq.; 787); attire of the bridegroom (766 sq.; 796 sq.); musical instruments (798 sq.); marriage song (800 sqq.); stepping of the bride over the threshold (815 sqq.); sports in the street during the procession (855 sq.), and subsequent inconveniences to which the newly wedded pair was put (781 sqq.). But the parties to the marriage described are slaves. It was, moreover, a man disguised as a woman, who, to perpetrate a joke, played the bride's part in the ceremony. There is no such detailed description of the marriage of a free girl and its attendant circumstances given in Plautus. *See also* Sandys, pp. 178-179.

CHAPTER VIII

Divorce

Divorce is not represented in the comedies of Plautus, nor does a divorced person appear, though a passage occurs where divorce was threatened on behalf of his daughters by a father. In this particular case the daughters had been neglected by their sailor-husbands who had sent no word to them during three years of absence, nor had they provided for them. The daughters refused to allow themselves to be separated from their husbands. Yet the father had a right to compel the return of his daughters to his home even against their will, if he had so desired.[1]

A husband is mentioned as threatening a wife with dismissal to her father's home unless she made herself more agreeable to him by being less inquisitive about what he was doing while out of her sight.[2] A wife, on the other hand, is represented as meeting on the street, and threatening to leave, her husband's twin brother and double, whom she had mistaken for her husband, if his conduct was not improved, and, on summons by her, the father, who was likewise under the delusion that it was his daughter's husband, demanded of his supposed son-in-law the cause of the domestic infelicity. The astonished stranger denied all accusations. The wife complained of several short-comings but she especially charged that the husband loved another than herself. Her father thought this quite negligible if only the husband provided well for the expenses of his home.[3]

Divorce was brought about as a result of deliberation and mutual agreement by the interested parties, including near relatives.[4] Divorce does not appear as necessarily the end of married life for women. The possibility of their re-marriage to other men is mentioned by a father in connection with his threat to separate his two daughters from their husbands.[5]

[1] *Stich.* 11 sqq.; 27 sqq.; 126 sqq.; *Men.* 782 sqq.; Legr., p. 198; p.199; p.215.

[2] *Men.* 110 sqq.

[3] *Men.* 719 sqq.; 734 sq.; 770 sq.; 778 sqq.; 787-809.

[4] *Stich.* 128.

[5] *Ibid.* 79 sq.

Plautus furnishes us with an example of the use of the formal words of divorce (*tuas res tibi habeto*).[6]

[6] *Trin.* 266; cf. *Amph.* 925 sqq.

CHAPTER IX

The Figurative Use of Words

Plautus presents us with a number of examples of the figurative use of words expressive of family relationship.

Relatives who were markedly attentive to a wealthy old bachelor were his "children."[1] Sons were "lambs."[2] Children were as different as "pups and pigs."[3] Wealth was "children."[4] A lover's favorite was a "little sister."[5] To be happy was to be the "father of twins and triplets."[6] Hunger was "birth pangs."[7] Luxury was the "mother" of want,[8] and the vine was the "mother" of the wine. A farm was a "nurse."[9] A favorite's breasts were "sisters." It was a slip of the tongue to call them "brothers."[10] To be born and to be freed from a dungeon were alike expressed by "seeing the light."[11] To be happily surprised was "a new birth."[12] Plautus represents a parasite as monopolizing conflicting functions of life when, in exuberance of figure, he declares himself as at once the "son" and the "mother" of hunger, with the advantage on the side of his own mother in that her labors were temporary while his were perpetual, since he was unable to bring the child, hunger, to birth.[13] "Father" was a term of respectful address to an aged man.[14] A mature man spoke of himself as a "school child" in matters unfamiliar to him.[15] A slave was called by a father his son's "evil *paedagogus*."[16] One who interfered was a "*tutor*."[17] A courtesan taught a young man "his letters" in the art of love.[18] A drunken lover called himself an "*alumnus*" of his mistress.[19]

[1] *Mil.* 705; 710.
[2] *Bacch.* 1145.
[3] *Epid.* 579; cf. *Poen.* 31.
[4] *Men.* 59.
[5] *Cist.* 451; cf. 452.
[6] *Mil.* 717.
[7] *Curc.* 219 sqq.
[8] *Trin.* 8 sq.; *Amph.* 430.
[9] *Trin.* 512 sq.
[10] Frag. *Frivolaria* VIII.
[11] *Capt.* 1006 sqq.
[12] *Ibid.* 891.
[13] *Stich.* 155 sqq.
[14] *Trin.* 878.
[15] *Stich.* 104 sq.
[16] *Pseud.* 445 sqq.
[17] Frag. *Vidularia* 23; *Aul.* 430.
[18] *Truc.* 735 sqq.
[19] *Most.* 325 sq.

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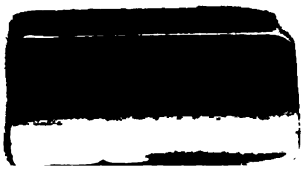

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